

THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

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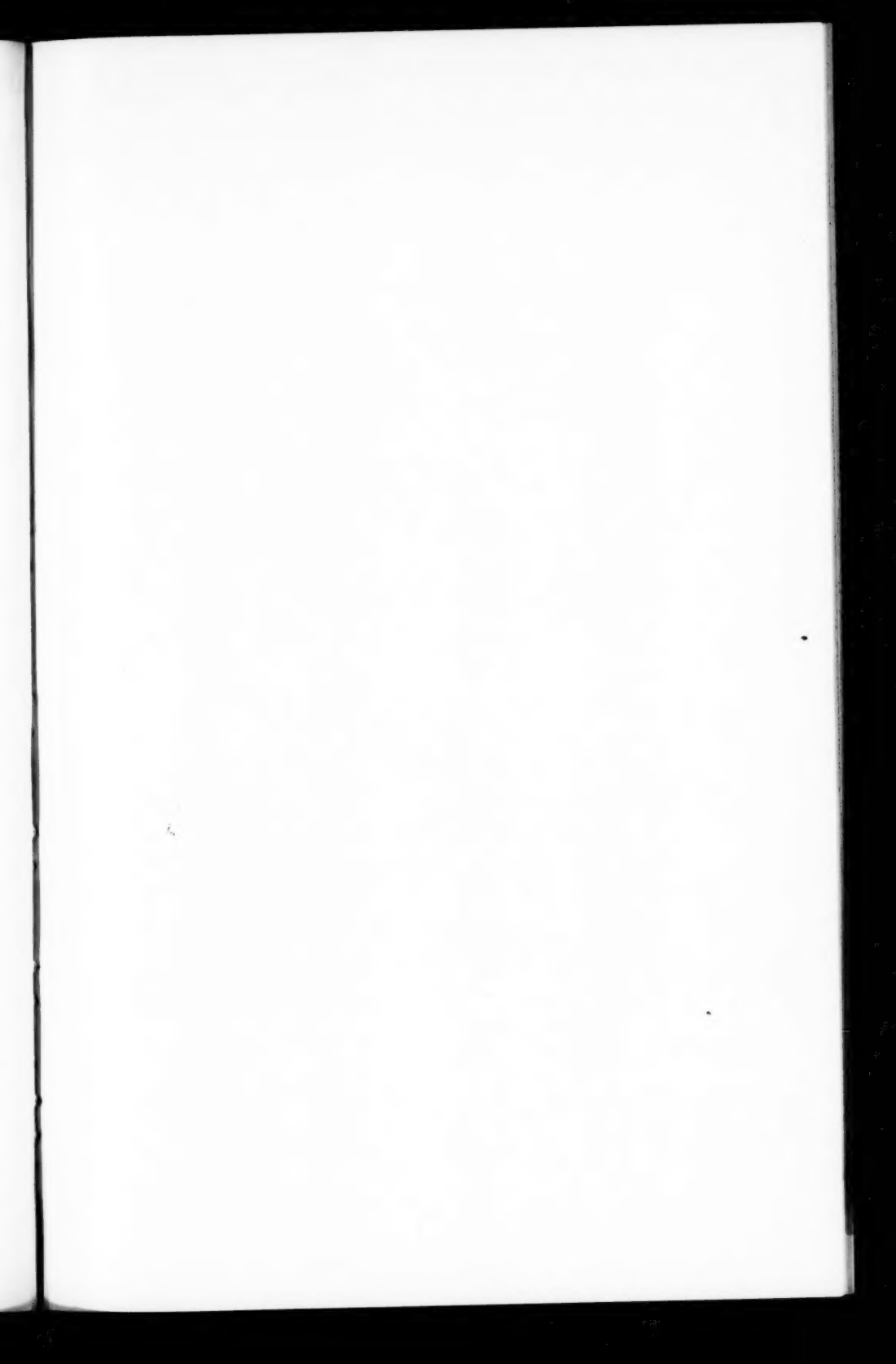
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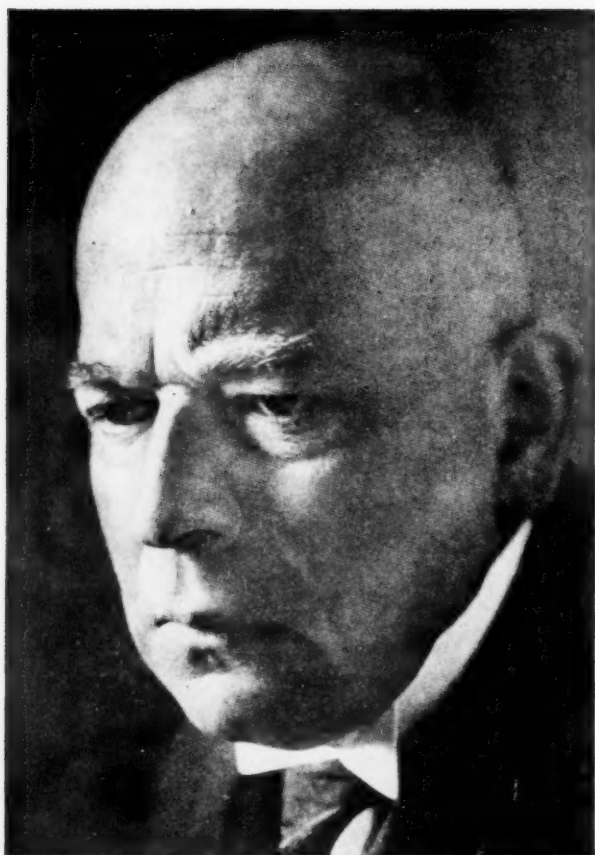
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Oswald Spengler



THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

SPENGLER'S QUARREL WITH THE METHODS OF MUSIC HISTORY

By ARTHUR MENDEL

"I AM convinced," wrote Spengler in the Preface (dated December 1917) to the first edition of *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, "that it is not merely a question of writing one out of several possible and merely logically justifiable philosophies, but of writing *the* philosophy of our time, one that is to some extent a natural philosophy and is dimly presaged by all. This may be said without presumption, for an idea that is historically essential—that does not occur within an epoch but itself makes that epoch—is only in a limited sense the property of him to whose lot it falls to parent it. It belongs to our time as a whole and influences all thinkers, without their knowing it. . . ." He added in the Preface to the Revised Edition (December 1922) that "this must be considered as a first attempt, loaded with all the customary faults, incomplete and not without inward opposition. . . . What I wrote in the storm and stress of those years was, it must be admitted, a very imperfect statement of what stood clearly before me, and it remained to devote the years that followed to the task of correlating facts and finding means of expression which should enable me to present my idea in the most forcible form."

The two passages are suggestive of the two lines that the specialist may take in reference to Spengler's work. The musician, for example, may accept it, at least provisionally, at its face value as a "morphology of world history,"¹ and examine its effect on

¹I, 5, 6. Except where otherwise noted, passages quoted in English are from the authorized English edition, translated by C. F. Atkinson, Copyrighted 1926 and 1928, by

the usual and the possible concepts and problems of music history. Or he may examine the musical allusions and analogies that Spengler adduces as factual testimony in support of his theories, and test their accuracy. That is, he may consider *the effect of Spengler upon music history* or *the effect of music history upon Spengler*. Alfred Einstein and Gustav Becking² essayed the latter approach shortly after the first appearance of Spengler's work.

That field of inquiry is directly important to Spengler more than to us. Our much closer concern is with the light that his "world-as-history," whether accepted as truth or as hypothesis, can shed upon the problems of music history and music theory. But an acquaintance with the outlines of his theory must precede any examination of either its details or its implications, and for English-speaking readers the following attempt to draw those outlines may not be amiss.

In the first place, "The Decline of the West" (*Der Untergang des Abendlandes*) is a misnomer—a *Reklametitel* that suggests a much more limited and more popular work than appears between the covers. The West is Spengler's abbreviation (a bad one) for "the body of Western-European-American culture in all its phases from about 900 to about 2200 (?) A.D." In what follows, the words "Western," "European," "Faustian" should be taken as alluding to this culture. And the Decline is merely that stage which it was bound to reach at about this time, like all other cultures after some 1000 years of active life.³ Spengler views the history of man as the story of a number of Cultures, blooming at different times and in different parts of the world, each individual

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²Alfred Einstein, "Oswald Spengler und die Musikgeschichte," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, October 1920, 3 Jahrgang, Heft 1. Gustav Becking, "Die Musikgeschichte in Spengler's *Untergang des Abendlandes*," *Logos*, IX, 284-295. Becking treated Spengler's errors at some length: his article should be read in conjunction with many phases of this one. But his condemnation is too often based on the strictest reading of what needs free construction. See, for example, note 66, *infra*. Much the same is true of Einstein's article; but many of the criticisms of both men, based on the first edition of Spengler's first volume, were apparently heeded in the preparation of the revised edition. In the *Neue Musikzeitung* for June 9, 1921, Paul Nettl published "Oswald Spengler's 'Untergang des Abendlandes' und die Musik," which is practically a paraphrase of Einstein's article.

³"If, then, the narrower theme is an analysis of the Decline of that West-European Culture which is now spread over the entire globe, yet the object in view is the development of a philosophy and of the operative method peculiar to it, which is now to be tried, viz., the method of comparative morphology in world-history." I, 50, 69.

Culture following an inner design or Destiny⁴ which is common to all Cultures—a design corresponding to the life of the individual man—consisting of infancy, youth, maturity, and old age.⁵ By "Culture" Spengler means everything in any way expressive of the inner symbolism that binds the people of one era and one part of the world together.

"Who . . . realizes that between the Differential Calculus and the dynastic principle of politics in the age of Louis XIV, between the classical city-state and the Euclidean geometry, between the space-perspective of Western oil-painting and the conquest of space by railroad, telephone and long-range weapon, between contrapuntal music and credit economics, there are deep uniformities? Yet, viewed from this morphological standpoint . . . things such as the Egyptian administrative system, the Classical coinage, analytical geometry, the cheque, the Suez Canal, the book-printing of the Chinese, the Prussian Army, and the Roman road-engineering can, as symbols, be made *uniformly* understandable and appreciable."⁶ It is when all these individual phenomena are related to the essential symbol underlying them that their mutual interrelation becomes clear. "But the prime symbol (*Ursymbol*) does not actualize itself; it is operative through the form-sense of every man, every community, age and epoch and dictates the style of every life expression. It is inherent in the form of the state, the religious myths and cults, the ethical ideals, the forms of painting and music and poetry, the fundamental notions of each science—but it is not presented by these. Consequently, it is not presentable by words, for language and words are themselves *derived* symbols. Every individual symbol tells of it, but only to the inner feelings, not to the understanding."⁷

Consider, for example, the Classical ("Apollinian") Culture, whose every manifestation illustrates its concentration upon the immediate, the here and now, the corporeal, tangible, measurable, finite. Contrast with it every manifestation of the Faustian Culture, always seeking the remote, in both time and space, the abstract, intangible, infinite. To the Greek, money was coin; to the Faustian, money is an entry in a ledger or a pass-book. Classical mathematics "conceived of things as *they are*, as *magnitudes*, timeless and purely present, and so it proceeded to Euclidean geometry and mathematical statics."⁸ Entirely foreign to it is our concept of the *function*, the mathematical term whose value depends upon the value of other terms. Number was to the Apollinian a means of measuring things; to the Faustian it is a means of thinking abstractly. For us, zero is a number in a

⁴Of which Spengler says, quoting St. Augustine (Conf. XI, 14): "Si nemo ex me quaeret, scio; si quaerenti explicari velim, nescio."

⁵I, 107, 145.

⁶I, 7, 8.

⁷I, 175, 229.

⁸I, 15, 20. For a very piercing critique of Spengler's ideas about Greek mathematics, music, sculpture, etc., see Erich Frank, "Mathematik und Musik und der Griechische Geist," *Logos* IX, pp. 222-250.

continuous series, falling between $+1$ and -1 ; such a view would have been nonsensical to the Greeks,⁹ and at such expressions as ϵ^{-z} , \sqrt{x} , $a^{\frac{1}{2}}$, their perplexity would have been complete.

"For Classical man, extension meant *body*; for us it means *space*, as a function of which things 'appear.'"¹⁰ For the Greek, things were the reality. Space existed, if at all ("τὸ μὴ ὄν"), as the distance between things. Distance—that is, the distant—had no reality to him. The geographical science of Greece was inferior to that of Egypt or Babylon, and that of Rome to that of Carthage. "Neither Plato nor Aristotle had an observatory. In the last years of Pericles, the Athenian people passed a decree by which all who propagated astronomical theories were made liable to impeachment."¹¹ So, too, the present entirely eclipsed the past and the future. The "historian" Thucydides wrote on the first page of his book that "before his time (about 400 B.C.) no events of importance had occurred in the world." And a treaty was made which "was to be valid for a hundred years from this year," but the treaty, which survives as an inscription, bears no date.¹²

The Doric temple seems to rest heavily in place; the Gothic cathedral seems to soar. But the distinction is not only between the impressions they create; it is in their structural principles as well. The weight of the roof of the Doric temple *rests* upon columns—body supports body. The *thrust* of the vault of the Gothic cathedral *is opposed and transferred* by the flying buttress—force counterbalances force. Static *vs.* dynamic; place *vs.* direction; polis *vs.* universe; complete *vs.* continuous; being *vs.* becoming; finite *vs.* infinite; where *vs.* whence and whither; thus are the expressions of the prime symbols of the Apollinian and Faustian cultures, respectively, contrasted.¹³

⁹I, 66, 91. Cf. Edith Hamilton, *The Greek Way*, New York, 1930, p. 17. This vivid and beautiful book is an excellent antidote to Spengler's one-sided view of the Greeks. For calling the book to my attention, as well as for many helpful suggestions on the form and content of this article, I am indebted to Mrs. M. D. Herter Norton.

¹⁰I, 64, 87 (my translation).

¹¹I, 8-11, 10-14.

¹²I, 10, 13.

¹³"One soul listens to the world-experience in A flat major, another in F minor." "... we can fairly speak of the *andante* of Greece and Rome and the *allegro con brio* of the Faustian spirit." (I, 180, 236, 109, 148.) Cf. the passage on p. 148 to which note 53 refers. The reservations or objections of the reader, faced with such an over-simplification of the manifold components of "the Apollinian Culture," are doubtless justified. "The metaphysical pretensions of Spengler's idealism, in seeking to impose a pet pattern on the flux of existence, not only do violence to the incorrigible variety of Nature, but in the effort to conceal their falseness, they compromise the purity of the intuitions which they express abusively. Such pretensions may make a system; they may even make a reputation; but are they worthy of a philosophic mind?" (George Santayana, "Spengler," *The New Adelphi*, Vol. II, No. 3, March-May, 1929). A flagrant instance of

Each Culture, similarly, has its underlying prime symbol, although each Culture cannot be so clearly described *for us*, to whom Greek Culture offers so many direct contrasts with our own. But it is absurd, Spengler says, to approach history as if it were focused, in time upon the last few centuries, and in space upon Europe and America. To do so is simply to dismiss as unimportant that which we do not understand, or remember, or know about; it is a Ptolemaic and not a Copernican attitude. It is similarly absurd, he says, to stick to a false and meaningless time-scheme like Ancient-Medieval-Modern,¹⁴ which, if analyzed, is seen to divide past time into three sections: the first covering millions of years, the second about a thousand, the third about half of that. Nothing gives us the right to consider one Culture more important than another, except for us. And just for us it is most important to study the development of other Cultures, if we would understand our own.

But such understanding of our own Culture must come through *comparing* it, rather than through *relating* it, with other Cultures. For to relate two Cultures, to trace the supposed influence of one upon another, is to confuse two fundamentally opposed ways of looking at the world: the *world-as-nature* and the *world-as-history*. "Mathematics and the principle of Causality lead to a naturalistic, Chronology and the idea of Destiny to a historical ordering of the phenomenal world."¹⁵ "Compare for instance the meaning of the two symbols $12 \times 8 = 96$ and 18 October, 1813."¹⁶ Mathematical number and chronological number; causality, the "systematic" viewing of things according to a timeless *logic of space*, and Destiny, the "physiognomic" viewing of things according to a *logic of time*, of irreversible direction: "both orderings, each on its own account, cover the whole world. The difference is only in the eyes of the beholder."¹⁷ The causal relation is an ordering of timeless, ever-possible truths, according to immutable laws; the world-as-history is an irreversible ordering

Spengler's "imposing a pattern" is a reference to "the 300-year periods of the Baroque, of the Ionic, of mosaic painting, of counterpoint. . . ." Now Pérotin was active probably about the end of the 12th century, and Palestrina towards the end of the 16th. This would make the period of counterpoint closer to 400 than to 300 years. Spengler's view of the Apollinian Culture is held up to very critical scrutiny by Édouard Schwartz, in his excellent article: "Über das Verhältnis der Hellenen zur Geschichte," *Logos*, IX, 171-187.

¹⁴I, 18ff; 24ff.

¹⁵I, 6-8, 7-10. "A man like Kant must always feel himself as superior to a Beethoven as the adult is to the child, but this will not prevent a Beethoven from rejecting the 'Critique of Pure Reason' as a pitiable way to look at the world." (I, 120, 158-9.) (The last phrase is my translation of: "als eine armselige Art von Weltbetrachtung abzulehnen.")

¹⁶I, 98, 133.

¹⁷I, 6-8, 7-10.

of facts. Four o'clock does not *cause* five o'clock. It precedes it in historical, not causal, order. The fugal exposition does not cause the *stretto* nor the dissonance its resolution. "Facts follow upon one another, truths follow from one another."¹⁸

Spengler's contrast of Destiny and Causality as appropriate and inappropriate approaches to history may be made clearer, and less likely to be confused with ideas of Predestination, Fatalism, etc.,¹⁹ by a comparison of Darwin on the one hand and Goethe and de Vries on the other. Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest is a purely causal explanation of a natural, systematic, evolutionary process. Against this, Goethe:

"So *musst* du sein, dir kannst du nicht entfliehen.
So sagten schon Sibyllen, so Propheten;
Und keine Zeit und keine Macht zerstückelt
Geprägte Form die lebend sich entwickelt."

"So must thou be. Thou canst not Self escape.
So erst the Sibyls, so the Prophets told.
Nor Time nor any Power can mar the shape
Impressed, that living must itself unfold."²⁰

Hugo de Vries (*Mutation Theory*, 1886) advanced the theory "that the basic forms of plants and animals did not evolve, but were suddenly there. In the language of Goethe, we see how the 'impressed form' works itself out in the individual samples, but not how the die was cut for *the whole genus*."²¹ According to de Vries, that is, clearly distinguished varieties and even species appear suddenly, not through gradual evolution from previously existent varieties, but jumping the gap that separates them. That they

¹⁸I, 158, 207 (my translation).

¹⁹See also I, 140-141, 184-186. For a discussion of this problem in connection with the history of music, see: Guido Adler, *Methode der Musikgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1919: "Das Problem der Notwendigkeit," pp. 27 ff. Hans Mersmann approaches the integration of music history within the history of Culture from a standpoint different from Spengler's ("Kulturgeschichte der Musik," *Der Auftakt*, III Jahrgang, Heft 4). For Mersmann, tracing the influences of other fields of activity upon music is the object of that integration. Spengler does not seek the effects of one field upon another; he looks upon them all as the fruits of a single tree.

²⁰I, 157, 207, quoted from Goethe's *Orphische Urworte*. The English version is by the translator of Spengler. Schiller has been quoted in opposition to this sort of thing:

"Weil du liehest in ihr, was du selber in sie geschrieben,
Weil du in Gruppen für's Aug' ihre Erscheinungen reihst,
Deine Schnüre gezogen auf ihrem unendlichen Felde,
Wahnst du, es fasse dein Geist ahnend die grosse Natur."

"Since thou readest in her but what thou into her hast written,
Since, for the eye, into groups thou hast divided her shapes,
And with compasses measured and charted her infinite spaces,
Thou dost imagine thy mind fathoms great Nature's extent."

(Quoted in Hermann Schoop, "Angelsächsische Vorläufer Spenglers und ihr Kritiker," *Wissen und Leben*, XVI Jahrgang, 12 Heft, 20 April 1923.)

²¹II, 32, 36, foot-note.

appear according to a design, Destiny, is Spengler's inference, and that in so occurring they are like all other *historical* phenomena.

The distinction between causal and historical order has a double significance. It means that we must not explain the autumn of a culture as the result of its springtime. And it means that we must not seek causal explanations for similarities between Cultures. We must not seek to explain an aspect of Western Culture as derived from Classical Culture, any more than we explain the color of today's sunset as derived from yesterday's.

What we may and should do, is to draw analogies between their histories. The history of man is the history of the plant-like growth of the various Cultures. The development of each Culture is analogous to that of each other Culture.²² Spengler even believes that all Cultures have approximately the same life-span, and he has charted in parallel columns the careers of various Cultures: The Indian (from about 1500 B.C.), the Classical (ca. 1100 B.C.—ca. 300 A.D.), the Arabian, or Magian (ca. 500 B.C.—ca. 1250 A.D.), the Egyptian (ca. 2900—ca. 1200 B.C.), the Chinese (ca. 1300 B.C.—ca. 100 A.D.), the Western (ca. 900—“after 2200” A.D.). So that by simple calculation the Decline of the West was predictable from the moment it became clear that Western Culture existed as a separate entity.

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The foregoing digest will have been enough to indicate the scope of Spengler's inquiry—a scope which includes the sum of human activity in all fields, places, times. That in all of them no man can be an expert goes without saying; Spengler is held to be an expert in none. That serious errors of fact abound in his work is not surprising. Great lacunæ in our knowledge of vast fields are bridged with a single sweep of the imagination, or a categorical “It must have been thus and so.” As a method, Spengler prefers proclamation to proof. A thousand questions arise, answerable only by specialists in a thousand fields. Spengler's erudition is so broad that a whole literature has sprung up to test, and often to deny, its depth. Schröter's *Der Streit um Spengler*²³ lists some

²²Unless Incident cuts it off in the course of its development, as the wind may suddenly snap off a plant which was destined to bloom and ripen and wither. Thus Cortez, representing the Western passion for distant dominion, destroyed Mayan Culture in the midst of its flowering. II, 43-45, 51-54.

²³Manfred Schröter, *Der Streit um Spengler: Kritik seiner Kritiker*, Munich, 1922. Francis Clarke (“Oswald Spengler,” *The London Mercury*, July 1920, Vol. XX, No. 117, pp. 277-288) devotes two extremely well written pages to a discussion of Spengler's learning. “What causes his highly attractive adventure to break down, in my judgment,” he says, “is simply that he has not achieved in any one sphere that more highly

400 critics, mostly specialists in various fields, who had commented (before 1922) on Spengler's theories. The difficulty is that while each of any number of specialists knows more in his field than Spengler does, few know as much as he does about a comparable number of fields. The mere fact that any number of critics find any number of mistakes in Spengler's data does not necessarily affect the validity of his deductions and theories.

Nor is their validity, so far as they are valid, their chief value.²⁴ Spengler has attempted, in writing history, to integrate the many phases of man's life to an extent probably unprecedented. He has shown that Beethoven's place in the history of Europe (not his importance as an influence—that is, a cause—upon events, but his significance as an expression of the essence of Western Culture) is as great as Newton's, or Napoleon's. It is today a commonplace to say that history should be not a record of battles, generals, kings, but a history of what man was thinking and doing in the various stages of his development (or developments, as Spengler would say). But Spengler's contribution is far above this concession on the part of the average historian. For he has attempted not merely to record man's achievements and ideas, but to compare them, and seek inner unities among them.

* * *

I propose now to call attention to Spengler's more specific treatment of music, and to make out as strong a case as I can for his theories as applied to the history of music. The position taken in the following pages is assumed in an attempt to show that while Spengler's views are often incorrect, they are not simply negligible, as being without any factual support whatever.²⁵

specialized depth of learning or severity of thought which would have enabled him to make discreet and really effective use of a more superficial knowledge in the others. He has no special subject of his own. He employs the comparative method uncontrolled by any real experience of the intensive method. The brilliancy of his style is indeed closely connected with the unscientific simplicity of his ideas. . . . His few fundamental ideas are applied over a much wider variety of periods and countries and subjects than any professional scholar dares to survey."

"The permanent value of Spengler's work lies entirely apart from his tendency to cram past and future into one iron framework. . . . Spengler may be wrong in the exact knowledge which he regards himself as having gained . . . but he is a giant and a revolutionary in the method which he has applied for the gaining of knowledge." John S. Hoyland, *History as Direction*, London, 1930.

"Wyndham Lewis is perhaps the most emphatic of many scoffers at Spengler. He calls his work "the concentrated humbugs of three superstitions—that of *historical* fact, that of *scientific* fact, and that of *philosophic* truth." "To say that I disagree with Spengler would be absurd. You cannot agree or disagree with such people as that: you can merely point out a few of the probable reasons for the most eccentric of their spasms and if you have patience—as I have—classify them." Wyndham Lewis, *Time and Western Man*, London, 1927.

The reëxamination of many axioms and theorems in the history of music, as suggested by Spengler, seems to me important. It is in the hope of persuading others of that importance that I, for the moment, support his position. The ends of justice are perhaps best served by a full hearing of partisans. The following discussion is frankly an argument in behalf of a client by his (self-appointed) advocate. But I have tried not to forget that a lawyer is an officer of the court, and have not wilfully connived at the suppression of evidence. I shall therefore attempt

- (I) to show how Spengler relates the history of music to other "expressions of the prime symbol." This relation will perhaps be made clearest in the attempt
- (II) to compare the music of the "Apollinian" Culture with that of the "Faustian";
- (III) to reëxamine such causal relations as have been believed to exist between the two—relations the existence of which is challenged by Spengler; to avoid a "Ptolemaic" causal relating of western music and its "fore-runners," in favor of a more "Copernican" view;
- (IV) to show Spengler's application of his infancy-youth-maturity-death idea to the history of music.

Spengler's prose has at times an almost biblical sweep, admirably preserved in Atkinson's translation, and it is with the aim of letting the reader feel both the splendor and the pompousness of his style that I have preferred, in what follows, to quote directly wherever possible.

I.

How is music related to the other manifestations of the prime symbol underlying a culture? And is its relation to them identical in all cultures?

To believe so, Spengler says, would be "to pervert the problem of form in its very enunciation."²⁸

"Hitherto it has been supposed . . . that the several 'arts' specified in the conventional classification-scheme (the validity of which is assumed), are all *possible* at all times and places, and the absence of one or another of them in particular cases is attributed to the accidental lack of creative personalities or impelling circumstances or discriminating patrons to guide 'art' on its 'way.' Here we have what I call a transference of the causality principle from the world of the become to that of the becoming. Having no eye for the perfectly different logic and necessity of the Living,

²⁸I, 221, 287.

for Destiny and the inevitableness and *unique occurrence* of its expression possibilities, men had recourse to tangible and obvious 'causes' for the building of their art-history, which thus came to consist of a series of events of only superficial concordance."²⁷ "No one has seriously considered the possibility that arts may have an allotted span of life, and may be attached as forms of self-expression to particular regions and particular types of mankind, and that therefore the total history of an art may be merely an additive compilation of separate developments, of special arts, with no bond of union save the name and some details of craft technique. . . . There is not *one* sculpture, *one* painting, *one* mathematics, *one* physics, [*one* music,] but many, each in its deepest sense different from the others, each limited in duration and self-contained, just as each species of plant has its peculiar blossom or fruit, its special type of growth and decline. . . . The professional historian, on the other hand, sees [history] . . . as a sort of tapeworm industriously adding on to itself one epoch after another."²⁸

The idea that there is a history of "Music from Homer to Bayreuth, and beyond," for example, springs from a fallacious emphasis of the senses through which we receive art impressions, at the expense of the essential symbolism of which the arts are a part.²⁹

"For the formative impulse that is at work in the wordless arts can never be understood until we come to regard the distinction between optical and acoustic means as only a superficial one. . . . A 'singing' picture of Claude Lorraine or of Watteau does not really address itself to the bodily eye any more than the space-straining music since Bach addresses itself to the bodily ear. . . . Considered in relation to a statue of Myron the art of a Poussin landscape is the same as that of a contemporary chamber-cantata; that of Rembrandt as that of the organ works of Buxtehude, Pachelbel, and Bach; that of Guardi as that of the Mozart opera³⁰—the *inner* form-language is so nearly identical that the

²⁷I, 222, 289-290.

²⁸I, 20-22, 27-29. In this connection Spengler pays his respects to specialists in "primitive" arts: II, 34, 39.

²⁹A similarly fallacious emphasis, Spengler says, has kept that "still more revealing . . . history of musical instruments [from being] written, not (as it always is) from the technical standpoint of tone-production, but as a study of the deep spiritual bases of the tone-colors and tone-effects aimed at." I, 62, 85. Curt Sachs's *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente* (Berlin, 1929) aims to "show how musical instruments are bound by a thousand threads to the sum of human activity and thinking, and how [their history] is determined by them in its significance and development; it aims to belong to the history of the spirit [Geistesgeschichte]." See also pp. 151-152 of this article. And see Werner Danckert, *Ursymbole Melodischer Gestaltung. Beiträge zur Typologie der Personalstile aus sechs Jahrhunderten der abendländischen Musikgeschichte*, Kassel, 1932. Danckert looks forward to the creation, based on the religious sciences, of a "macromorphology of the arts"!

³⁰One may differ with Spengler about the aptness of these particular illustrations without denying the element of validity in the idea in support of which they are adduced. The idea that the music and the painting of the same date are bound to express the Faustian essence in the same way and with the same force is not necessarily, however, a part of Spengler's theory. See pp. 152-153 of this article. Hans Mersmann (*Versuch*

difference between optical and acoustic means is negligible . . . it is not an accident that Beethoven wrote his last works when he was deaf—deafness merely released him from the last fetters. For this music (and this painting), sight and hearing *equally* are bridges into the soul and nothing more. . . . In the Passions of Heinrich Schütz, in the fugues of Bach, in the last quartets of Beethoven, and in 'Tristan'—we livingly experience *behind* the sensuous impressions a whole world of others. . . . To the Greek this visionary kind of enjoyment was utterly alien. He *felt* the marble with his eye, and the thick tones of an aulos³¹ moved him almost *corporally*. For him, eye and ear are the receivers of the *whole* of the impression that he wished to receive."³²

The point is, then, that "an art is an organism, not a system," and that the relations of "one art" are with other arts of the same Culture, rather than with any art of another Culture with which it happens to share the technical means of expression.

Each Culture chooses its own art-genus, for only those art-genera are possible to it that are compatible with its inner tendency.

"What the creation of a masterpiece [means] for an individual artist—the 'Night Watch' for Rembrandt, or the 'Meistersinger' for Wagner—that the creation of a *species* of art, comprehended as such, means for the life-history of a Culture."³³ "At the culmination of every Culture we have the spectacle of a splendid *group of great arts*, well-ordered and linked as a unity by the unity of the prime symbol underlying them all. The *Apollinian* group, to which belong vase-painting, fresco-relief, the architecture of ranked columns, the Attic drama and the dance, centres upon the naked statue. The *Faustian* group forms itself around the ideal of pure spatial infinity and its centre of gravity is instrumental music."³⁴

II.

How is it that music comes to be the central art of the Faustian Culture? Obviously, first of all, because music does not *exist*—it *becomes*. It is not complete but continuous: not mathematical (existing through the simultaneous or timeless relations of its parts, like a statue) but chronological.³⁵ And music is the art of the remote.

"Where the bounds of the light-world are, there lies the beyond, and salvation is emancipation from the spell of the light-world and its facts.

einer Phänomenologie der Musik, Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, Jan.-Feb., 1923, 5 Jahrgang, Heft 4-5) claims that Spengler's discussion suffers chiefly from the fact that he bends the historical line of the development of music in all important respects in order to establish the simultaneity of its high points with those of the other arts. The reproach, although exaggerated, is partly justified. See note 13.

³¹The aptness of this characterization of the tones of an instrument that apparently resembled the clarinet or the oboe may be questioned.

³²I 219-222, 285-291.

³³I, 222, 289.

³⁴I, 282, 363.

³⁵I, 97, 132.

In precisely this resides the ineffable charm and the very real power of emancipation that music possesses for us men. For music is the only art whose means lie outside the light-world that has so long [ago] become co-extensive with our total world, and music alone, therefore, can take us right out of this world, break up the steely tyranny of light, and let us fondly imagine that we are on the verge of reaching 'the soul's final secret—an illusion due to the fact that our waking consciousness is . . . so dominated by one sense only, so thoroughly adapted to the eye world, that it is incapable of forming, out of the impressions it receives, a world of the ear."³⁶ "That which we feel in the sound of the word 'time' can be made clear through music better than through words, through poetry better than through prose."³⁷

For the appreciation of music, the historical sense, memory, is necessary: each pitch, chord, tone-color, dynamic level, duration, has significance only in relation to that which no longer exists, except in memory. A melody does not *exist* any more than a river, or a storm, or a breeze, *exists*; it is but the name we give to a historical sequence.

So far, we have been talking about music anywhere, at any time, in any Culture—in Spenglerian terms, we have been considering any art whose material is exclusively acoustic. But, according to Spengler, the Faustian Culture is perhaps the only one which has really possessed such an art: music, in the truest sense of the word, is a monopoly of Western Europe, and existed in its highest and completest form at only one period in the world's history—approximately the 18th century.³⁸

What are these exclusive features of Western music that differentiate it so completely and essentially from what we call Greek music, Chinese music, Siamese, Indian, Hebrew, music?

First, polyphony—polyphony in the generic sense, meaning the simultaneous sounding of different pitches as a basic element in music, not in the restricted and specific sense in which we distinguish polyphonic and homophonic or harmonic styles. "Sumer is icumen in," the *Missa Papæ Marcelli*, the Well-Tempered Clavichord, a Chopin Nocturne, and *Wozzeck*, are variously "polyphonic" or "harmonic" if we use the words as referring to

³⁶II, 8-9, 10.

³⁷I, 122, 161 (my translation).

³⁸This is not to say that all other Cultures were *equally* remote from the possibilities that have fostered European music. Spengler sees resemblances between the historical senses of the Egyptian, Chinese, and other Cultures, and the Western-European. The historical sense, for example, was extremely strong, he says, in ancient Egypt, as evidenced by the exactness with which Egyptian chronology is known, as well as by the strength of the dynastic idea and the advance in chronological calculation, astronomy, etc., among the Egyptians, as contrasted with the Classical weakness in all these directions. See I, 200-205, 260-266. See also foot-note 40, for a possible similarity between Egyptian and Western music; and see foot-note 44.

styles within the music of Western Culture. But if we compare them with the music of any other Culture known to us, they are all both polyphonic and harmonic—a feature, and probably the salient feature, which would enable an archæologist of the year 4000 to place any one of them as belonging to Western Europe of the second millennium A.D.³⁹ In this sense, polyphony is absent from the music of any other culture, so far as we know. The Greeks accompanied the singing voice on instruments, and the simultaneous use of voices and instruments is not uncommon in other musics. But everywhere the accompanying instruments seem to have been confined to the notes of the chief melody, to drone notes, or to minor embellishments. And even where two instruments, or two pipes of a double aulos, were concerned, any true harmony or polyphony was excluded.⁴⁰

Gregorian chant, to be sure, was not polyphonic. But was Gregorian chant western music? Spengler would say no. It flowered before the beginnings of Western Culture (900-1000 A.D.), and its decay was simultaneous with the growth of Western music. It is not to be expected that among historians of music one will find much support of the Spenglerian thesis that Gregorian chant belonged to the Magian Culture, polyphony to the Faus-tian. The very existence of a Magian culture is to most persons a new idea; the notion of its dominance throughout the “early Christian” and “pre-Romanesque” periods is at swords’ points with their Ancient-Mediæval-Modern scheme. Cecil Gray, in the first chapter of his *History of Music*, which is admittedly influenced by Spengler, is one of the few who do not connect Gregorian chant

³⁹I stress the point because Spengler has been criticized for using terms loosely in this connection. Alfred Einstein, *op. cit.*, says: “he speaks always of contrapuntal music, of the art of the fugue, but what he means is always simply *mehrstimmige Musik*”—music in which sounds of different pitch are heard at the same time. For a German, to whom the convenient word *mehrstimmig* was available, the looseness may have been regrettable. For us, who, *faute de mieux*, use the word *polyphonic* in both senses, the distinction is less important.

⁴⁰Théodore Reinach, *La Musique Grecque*. Paris, 1926, pp. 69-71. J. Combarieu, *Histoire de la Musique des origines au début du XX^e siècle*, Paris, 1920 (3^e Edition), I, p. 94. Combarieu writes: “The Greeks, in their vocal music, knew only singing in unison (and at the octave); in vocal-instrumental music or in purely instrumental music, they certainly practised the simultaneous production of several sounds. The position of the hands of harpists in old paintings shows that the Egyptians did so; and it would seem very unlikely that the Greeks, who borrowed so much from them, did not imitate them in this respect.” This last inference is one of those causal non-sequiturs against which Spengler protests (see the quotation on pp. 139-140 to which foot-note 27 refers). But even Combarieu admits: “this ‘mélange’ of sounds seems not to have constituted a science, despite the endless discussions of the theorists on consonance. Nothing permits us to say that the Greeks knew harmony in the modern sense of the word.” The chapter “La Musique non hellénique,” I, pp. 47-58, contains some interesting speculations on possible similarities of Chinese and Greek, of Egyptian and Western music. See also: Curt Sachs, “Zweiklänge im Altertum,” *Festschrift für Johannes Wolf*, Berlin, 1929, p. 168.

to singing in parts in a causal chain through organum and descant, and he definitely supports "the legitimate and entirely logical assumption that plain-song was in the main, if not entirely, a Byzantine creation."⁴¹ The beginnings of Western music, meanwhile, took place beside and simultaneously with the flowering of Magian music. "The idea that [harmony and modern tonality] . . . suddenly came into evidence about the year 1600, though one of the most dearly cherished legends of musical history, is absolutely untrue. As we have shown, it seems always to have been characteristic of western secular music, so far as we are able to judge."⁴² In any case, Western music turned its back upon many of the characteristics of Gregorian chant, homophony among them, and polyphony became its chief distinguishing feature.

Western music, likewise, became primarily instrumental. "About 1560 [why not 1594?] the empire of the human voice comes to an end in the *a cappella* style of Palestrina and Orlando Lasso (both d. 1594). Its powers could no longer express the passionate drive into the infinite, and it made way for the chorus of instruments, wind and string."⁴³ This is not necessarily to say that vocal music was inferior to the instrumental music which succeeded it, but that in the instrumental music of Bach, Haydn, and Beethoven (in whom, surely, Western music had its greatest flowering⁴⁴), the Faustian soul found its definitive utterance; and they used voices, when they used them at all, like instruments.

In this combination of two characteristics, instrumental polyphony, Western music achieved a position of independence (even

⁴¹New York, 1928, p. 17. Mr. Gray definitely rejects evolutionary theories of musical history, so far as they involve causal relations between musics of different cultures. He contrasts, for example, the two theories of the origin of Gregorian chant—the one in Greek, the other in Hebrew, music—and asks: "But, incidentally, does not the mere fact that it can be seriously and solemnly debated whether Gregorian chant is Greek or Hebrew in origin conclusively show that it cannot demonstrably be either? . . . Is the new Testament merely Jewish thought embodied in Greek language? Does not the essential significance of the Christian religion lie precisely in its difference from the traditions of both Athens and Jerusalem?" See also: Hans Joachim Moser, *Die Epochen der Musikgeschichte*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 23ff. Gustav Becking attacked Moser's *Geschichte der deutschen Musik* (Berlin, 1921-1928) for various alleged Spenglerian influences, in the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, January 1925, 7 Jahrgang, Heft 4; and Moser replied in the same journal for March, 1925, 7 Jahrgang, Heft 6.

⁴²Cecil Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁴³I, 230, 299.

⁴⁴Einstein, *op. cit.*, reproaches Spengler because he is "above all not clear about the high point in music history: he knows that it lies in the 18th century, but he does not know whether it is in Bach or in the creators of the sonata." Is this something Spengler should know—something Einstein does know? Is not the answer that both almost equally represent the highest in Western music? "These are the years too, in which the great special arts attain to their last, most refined, and most intellectual maturity—side by side . . . with the fligree of Cabinet diplomacy the music of Bach and Mozart." (II, 391, 487.) "Bach and Mozart commanded the musical means of their times." (II, 447, 559.) See also: I, 207, 269; II, 135, 161; and Moser, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 123.

of dominance) among the arts. There will be occasion later to discuss the position of music among the arts of the Greeks. For the present it suffices to say that probably in no other Culture has music been so completely independent of the other arts as in our own. If instrumental polyphony is our monopoly, the independence of music must be our monopoly also, for it is difficult to conceive of a truly independent art of music which would be neither instrumental nor polyphonic. When two voices sing, even note against note, words are perhaps not more than half as intelligible as when one sings alone. I do not mean to say that the text in the choral music of the 15th and 16th centuries is unimportant; it is of course extremely important in many ways. But music is certainly not subordinate to text. When, already *circa* 1240, different voices sing different texts, or at least different portions of the same text simultaneously, as in "Sumer is icumen in" or any other round, music can claim to be fairly independent of the words to which it happens to be set. When, then, instruments become interchangeable with voices, and when, finally, they supplant them, the independence of music from *poetry* is complete. From *dancing* (which with music and poetry formed practically a triple art among the Greeks) Western music likewise freed itself. Any close connection between the rhythm of the dance and music is already lost in pieces like the Allemandes and the Sarabandes (especially those *avec agréments*) of Bach, which still bear dance names. In a way, the history of the recitative symbolizes the freeing of music from *both poetry and the dance*. When it appears in early opera, oratorio, and cantata, it is entirely free from the regular, symmetrical rhythms of the dance, but it derives its rhythm directly from the text. But Beethoven frees it from this allegiance as well, when he transfers it to the piano sonata (e. g., Op. 31, No. 2; Op. 110) and the string-quartet (e. g., Op. 131, Op. 132).

If it is easy to see why the choice of instrumental polyphony enabled Western music to become an independent art, it is also not difficult to see the connection between instrumental polyphony and the characteristic preferences of the Faustian soul. When music freed itself from the dance it thereby freed itself from the body; when it triumphed over text it achieved an abstraction equalled in no other field of human endeavor save mathematics—Western mathematics, of course, not Euclidean geometry. With the advent of tonality as a formal means, as in the fugue and sonata forms, music became, as Spengler says, "in every measure a symbol of the

⁴⁹I, 231, 300. It is for such flashes of insight as this, I think, that one must forgive Spengler the dilettantism that displays itself so unpleasantly, and that so disturbed Einstein, in the sentence before, where a reference is made to the "four-part movement" of the sonata. Earlier, too (I, 177, 233), reference has been made to a "strenge Kanon des vierteligen Satzes." Einstein points out that there never was a "strict canon of the four-movement (not four-part) sonata (not sonata-movement)." Amusingly enough, Spengler gives as authority for his remark a reference to Einstein's *Geschichte der Musik*. Amusing, too, is the translator's attempt to explain away Spengler's slip. The first reference to the "vierteliger Satz" he translates as "the sonata-movement of four elements"; the second he calls simply "the four-part movement," and gives this explanation, in a foot-note: "A movement in sonata form consists essentially of (a) First Subject; (b) Second Subject (in an allied key); (c) Working-out, or free development of the themes grouped under (a) and (b); and (d) Recapitulation, in which the two subjects are repeated

that develops and changes is inherent, obviously, in the variation- and passacaglia-forms. But it is first incorporated in a thoroughly directional, irreversible form in the sonata.

This is the theme as function—in the mathematical sense of the term referred to above. And here we arrive at the relations—at least, the analogies—between music and mathematics, which Spengler describes as many and far-reaching.⁴⁹

Mathematics "is a science of the most rigorous kind, like logic but more comprehensive and very much fuller; it is a true art, along with sculpture and music, as needing the guidance of inspiration and as developing under great conventions of form; it is, lastly, a metaphysic of the highest rank, as Plato and above all Leibniz show us . . . the great arts are, one and all, modes of interpretation by means of limits based on number."⁵⁰ And just as there is no *music as such*, including both Homer and Wagner, so "there is not, and cannot be, number as such. There are several number-worlds as there are several Cultures. . . . The style of any mathematic which comes into being, then, depends wholly on the Culture in which it is rooted, the sort of mankind it is that ponders it. . . . So far, no one has dared to assume that the supposed constant structure of the intellect is an illusion and that the history spread out before us contains more than one *style of knowing*. . . . If mathematics were a mere science like astronomy or mineralogy, it would be possible to define their object. This man is not and never has been able to do. . . . The relationship between the form-language of a mathematic and that of the cognate major arts, is in this way put beyond doubt. . . . The same inspired ordering of an infinite world which manifested itself in the geometrical analysis and projective geometry of the 17th Century, could vivify, energize, and suffuse contemporary music with the harmony that it developed out of the art of thoroughbass (which is the geometry of the sound-world), and contemporary painting with the principle of perspective (the felt geometry of the space-world that only the West knows).⁵¹

"In the very deep relation between changes of musical theory and the analysis of the infinite, the details have never yet been investigated, although æsthetics might have learned a great deal more from these than from all so-called 'psychology.' . . . It was the wish . . . to fill a

in the key of the tonic. The English usage is to consider (a) and (b) with the bridge or modulation connecting them, together as the 'Exposition,' and the form is consequently designated 'three-part.'" Einstein seems to indicate that "the German usage" is not dissimilar! See also Wyndham Lewis, *Time and Western Man*, London, 1927, p. 296.

⁴⁹Many of the allusions are beyond the comprehension of a tyro in mathematics. I must therefore treat some of those I seem to understand and simply refer the reader to others: I, 171, 224; 230, 299; 231, 300; 236, 307; 282, 363-364; 283-284, 365-367; 417, 541. See also: I, 385, 495.

⁵⁰I, 56, 58, 77, 80.

⁵¹Spengler is not alone in drawing such analogies. Donald Francis Tovey, in the article music in the Encyclopedia Britannica, writes: "In music the nearest analogy to perspective is the system of tonality developed by the great composers from Alessandro Scarlatti to Wagner. . . . Music, as we now understand it, consists in the interaction of three elements as inseparable (but not as interchangeable) as the three dimensions of Newtonian space."

spatial infinity with sound which produced—in contrast to the Classical lyre and reed (lyra, kithara; aulos, syrinx) and the Arabian lute—the two great families of keyboard instruments . . . and bow instruments, and that as early as the Gothic time. . . . The organ was developed into the *space-commanding* giant that we know, an instrument the like of which does not exist in all musical history. The free organ-playing of Bach and his time was nothing if it was not analysis—analysis of a strange and vast tone world. And, similarly, it is in accord with the Western number thinking, and in opposition to the Classical, that our string and wind instruments have been developed not singly but in great groups (strings, wood-wind, brass) ordered within themselves according to the compass of the four human voices; the history of the modern orchestra, with all its discoveries of new and modification of old instruments, is in reality the self-contained history of one tone-world—a world, moreover, that is quite capable of being expressed in the forms of the higher analysis.⁷²

And both Western mathematics and Western music are closely related to Western religion.

"Athene or Apollo might be represented by a statue, but it is and has long been evident to our feeling that the Deity of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation can only be 'manifested' in the storm of an organ fugue or the solemn progress of cantata and mass. . . . Even the Germanic gods and heroes are surrounded by this rebuffing immensity and enigmatic gloom. They are steeped in music and in night, for daylight gives visual bounds and therefore shapes bodily things. Night eliminates body, day soul. Apollo and Athene have no souls. On Olympus rests the eternal light of the transparent southern day, and Apollo's hour is high noon, when great Pan sleeps. But Valhalla is lightless, and even in the Eddas we can trace that deep midnight of Faust's study-broodings, the midnight that is caught by Rembrandt's etchings and absorbs Beethoven's tone colors. . . .⁷³ From the later days of the Renaissance onward, the notion of God has steadily approximated, in the spirit of every man of high significance, to the idea of pure endless space. The God of Ignatius Loyola's *exercitia spiritualis* is the God also of Luther's 'ein feste Burg,' of the *Improperia* of Palestrina and the Cantatas of Bach. He is no longer the Father of St. Francis of Assisi and the high-vaulted cathedrals, the personally-present, caring and mild God felt by Gothic painters like Giotto and Stephen Lochner, but an impersonal principle; unimaginable, intangible, working mysteriously in the Infinite. Every relic of personality dissolves into insensible abstraction, such a divinity as only instrumental music of the grand style is capable of representing, a divinity before which painting breaks down and drops into the background."⁷⁴ "The intoxicated soul wills to fly above space and Time. . . .

⁷²I, 59-62, 81-86. See also: 78, 106; 85, 116; 90, 124. The last citation is of a historical table of the parallel developments of music and mathematics.

⁷³I, 187, 242-243; II, 295 foot-note 1, 368 foot-note 1.

⁷⁴I, 395, 512. Spengler is here, certainly, on sufficiently debatable ground. He should have stopped here. But he continues: "The force which moves the mass—that is what Michelangelo painted in the Sistine Chapel [where, it has been remarked, one almost sees the spark of life jump from God's finger to Adam's]; that is what we feel

Man would free himself from the earth, rise into the infinite, leave the bonds of the body, and circle in the universe of space amongst the stars. . . . An ineffable longing tempts him to indefinable horizons . . . that which Beethoven conceived in the trans-earthly tones of his quartets. . . ."⁵⁵

Before examining the possible historical relations of this remote, abstract, infinite art with the art of the Classical Culture, there remains only the necessity of sketching its own inner history, as Spengler sees it. Here again I must confine myself to the barest outlines and refer the reader, in foot-notes, to the material with which to clothe the skeleton. And here I have purposely avoided quoting many *musical* references from the chapter "Music and Plastic," so as not to divert attention from the main outlines of Spengler's thesis, which is at least tenable, to innumerable details, many of which are at best debatable.

The history of Western art is, Spengler says, the history of the conquest of all the arts by music and the musical element. Those arts which stand closest to music have had a true history in Western Culture; those furthest from it have been submerged by it.

"The great architecture of the early period is ever the mother of all following arts; it determines the choice of them and the spirit of them. . . . Now, as soon as the Germanic [substitute 'Western'⁵⁶] spirit takes possession of the basilical type, there begins a wondrous mutation of all structural parts, as to both position and significance. Here in the Faustian North the outer form of the building, be it cathedral or mere dwelling-house, begins to be brought into relation with the meaning that governs the arrangement of the interior, a meaning undisclosed in the mosque and non-existent in the temple."⁵⁷ "Nothing has injured the history of the great architectures so much as the fact that it has been regarded as the history of architectural techniques instead of as that of architectural ideas which took their technical expression-means as and where they found them. . . . Whether the groin and the flying buttress and the squinch-cupola were imagined specially for the great architectures or were expedients that lay more or less ready to hand and were taken

growing more and more intense from. . . . Heinrich Schütz to the transcendent tone-worlds of 18th-Century church music." The passage has been revised, perhaps in accordance with Einstein's criticism of the earlier version. But what, exactly, these transcendent tone-worlds of 18th-Century church music are, remains somewhat a mystery. If the B-minor Mass and the St. Matthew Passion are meant, these are hardly "instrumental music in the grand style." What other transcendent tone-worlds belong to 18th-Century, rather than 16th- or 17th-Century, church music? Perhaps the organ works of Bach.

⁵⁵II, 503, 629-630.

⁵⁶"Through his identification of the entire Occident (including Romance and Anglo-Saxon peoples) with the Faustian spirit, the creator of the Copernican system has become a crass Ptolemaist." Heinrich Scholz, *Zum Untergang des Abendlandes. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Oswald Spengler*, Berlin, 1921.

⁵⁷I, 224, 292.

into use is for art-history a matter of as little importance as the question of whether, technically, stringed instruments originated in Arabia or in Celtic Britain. It may be that the Doric column was, as a matter of workmanship, borrowed from the Egyptian temples of the New Empire, or the late Roman domical construction from the Etruscans, or the Florentine court from the North-African Moors. Nevertheless the Doric peripteros, the Pantheon, and the Palazzo Farnese belong to wholly different worlds—they subserve the artistic expression of the prime-symbol in three different Cultures.”⁵⁸

If, then, one examines the history of Western architecture, one finds already in the Gothic Cathedral a full expression of the Western soul.

“The Art of the Renaissance, considered from this particular one of its many aspects, is a *revolt against the spirit of the Faustian forest-music* of counterpoint, which at that time was preparing to vassalize the whole form-language of the Western Culture. It was the logical consequence of the open assertion of this will in matured Gothic. It never disavowed its origin, and it maintained the character of a simple *counter-movement*; necessarily therefore it remained dependent upon the forms of the original movement,⁵⁹ and represented simply the effect of these upon a hesitant soul. . . . The Renaissance, when it had mastered some arts of word and picture, had shot its bolt. It altered the ways of thought and the life-feeling of West Europe not one whit. It . . . never touched the people, even in Florence itself. The man for whom they had ears was Savonarola—a phenomenon of quite another spiritual order and one which begins to be comprehensible when we discern the fact that, all the time, the deep under-currents are steadily flowing on towards the Gothic-musical Baroque.”⁶⁰ “. . . the Renaissance practised wholly and exclusively an architecture of space prescribed for it by Gothic, from which it differed *only* in that in lieu of the Northern ‘Sturm und Drang’ it breathed the clear equable calm of the sunny, care-free and unquestioning South. . . . In the midst of this art the Poseidon temple of Pæstum, all body, stands lonely and unrelated: no one saw it, no one attempted to copy it.

“Equally un-Attic is the Florentine sculpture, for Attic is *free* plastic, ‘in the round’ in the full sense of the words, whereas every Florentine statue feels behind it the ghost of the niche into which the Gothic sculptor had built its real ancestors. . . .⁶¹ This was the one moment in the history of the West when sculpture ranked as the paramount art. . . .⁶² What they [Leonardo, Michelangelo, etc.] *intended* was to substitute proportion for relation, drawing for light-and-air effect,

⁵⁸I, 195-6, 253-254.

⁵⁹Elsewhere (I, 408ff., 529ff.) Spengler has pointed out the inner dependence of such a negative movement upon that which it denies. “It is not in dispute . . . that atheism is essentially a negation, that it signifies the foregoing of a spiritual idea, and therefore the precedence of such an idea, and that it is not the creative act of an unimpaired formative power. But what is it that it denies? In what way? And who is the denier? . . . No one has had anything to say about the *species* of atheism. . . .”

⁶⁰I, 232-233, 302-303.

⁶¹I, 235, 306.

⁶²I, 237, 308.

Euclidean body for pure space. But neither they nor others of their time produced a Euclidean-static sculpture—for that was possible once only, in Athens. In all their work one feels a secret music, in all their forms the movement-quality and the tending into distances and depths. They are on the way, not to Phidias but to Palestrina, and they have come thither not from Roman ruins, but from the still music of the cathedral. Raphael thawed the Florentine fresco and Michelangelo the statue, and Leonardo dreamed already of Rembrandt and Bach. . . .⁶³ Michelangelo saw with the spiritual eye and broke through the foreground language of immediate sensuousness. . . . Marble became too trivial for his will to form. He ceased to be sculptor and turned architect. In full old age, when he was producing only wild fragments like the Rondanini Madonna and hardly cutting his figures out of the rough at all, the *musical* tendency of his artistry broke through. In the end the impulse towards contrapuntal form was no longer to be repressed and, dissatisfied through and through with the art upon which he had spent his life, yet dominated still by the unquenchable will to self-expression, he shattered the canon of Renaissance architecture and created the Roman Baroque. For relations of material and form he substituted the contest of force and mass. He grouped the columns in sheaves or else pushed them away into niches. He broke up the storeys with huge pilasters, and gave the façade a sort of surging and thrusting quality. Measure yielded to melody, the static to the dynamic. And thus Faustian music enlisted in its service the chief of all the other arts. . . .⁶⁴ This art [sculpture] had fallen out of the destiny of the Culture. What there is in a Rembrandt portrait simply cannot be rendered in a bust. . . .⁶⁵ With Michelangelo the history of Western sculpture is at an end. What of it there was after him was mere misunderstandings or reminiscences. His real heir was Palestrina."⁶⁶

The relations of music and oil painting are closer and not quite so simple.

"With Baroque the leadership in music passes to Italy. But at the same time architecture ceases to be the ruling art and there is formed a group of Faustian special-arts in which oil-painting occupies the central place. About 1560 the empire of the human voice comes to an end in the *a cappella* style of Palestrina and Orlando Lasso (both d. 1594). Its powers could no longer express the passionate drive into the infinite, and it made way for the chorus of instruments, wind and string. And there-

⁶³I, 274, 353-354.

⁶⁴I, 277, 357.

⁶⁵I, 244, 318. "The Dresden Zwinger is the most completely musical piece in all the world's architecture, with an ornamentation like the tone of an old violin, an *allegro fugitivo* for small orchestra." I, 285, 367-368. See also: I, 87, 119.

⁶⁶I, 277, 357. Becking, *op. cit.*, makes the point that Michelangelo was the "more dynamic, more Faustian" of the two. But this is not a ground for condemning Spengler, whose point is that *any* music, even that of the "classic" Palestrina, is by nature more dynamic than any sculpture or architecture. He does not need to claim that Palestrina was "more dynamic" for a musician than Michelangelo was for a sculptor. His claim is that in Michelangelo the Western soul tried for the last time to express itself in sculpture. Spengler would not deny the classic tranquility of Palestrina among musicians; but he would ask, "Could Palestrina have achieved in sculpture what he achieved in music?"

upon Venice produced Titian-music, the new madrigal that in its ebb and flow follows the sense of the text. . . .⁶⁷ At the beginning [of instrumental Music], in the 17th Century, music uses the characteristic tone-colours of the instruments, and the contrasts of strings and wind, human voices and instrumental voices, as means wherewith to *paint*. Its (quite unconscious) ambition is to parallel the great masters from Titian to Velasquez and Rembrandt. . . . With the German masters, all this goes. Painting can take music no further. Music becomes itself *absolute*: it is music that (quite unconsciously again) dominates both painting and architecture in the 18th Century."⁶⁸

On the other hand, "with the 16th Century, the decisive epochal turn begins for Western painting. The trusteeship of architecture in the North and that of sculpture in Italy expire, and painting becomes polyphonic, 'picturesque,' infinity-seeking. The colours become tones. The art of the brush claims kinship with the style of cantata and madrigal. The technique of oils becomes the basis of an art that means to conquer *space* and to dissolve things in that space. With Leonardo and Giorgione begins Impressionism."⁶⁹ "In the Sistine Madonna, which is the very summation of the Renaissance, Raphael causes the outline to draw into itself the entire content of the work. It is the *last grand line* of Western art. Already (and it is this that makes Raphael the least intelligible of Renaissance artists) convention is strained almost to the breaking-point by the intensity of inward feeling. . . . In Raphael line has become silent, expectant, veiled, waiting in an extremity of tension for dissolution into the infinite, into space and music. Leonardo *is* already over the frontier. The Adoration of the Magi *is* already music. . . . Nothing like it was even imagined till Rembrandt. Transcending all optical measures, everything then called drawing, outline, composition and grouping, he pushes fearlessly on to challenge eternal space; everything bodily floats like the planets in the Copernican system and the tones of a Bach organ-fugue in the dimness of old churches."⁷⁰ "That which in the 18th Century is called 'colour' in an etching, a drawing, or a sculpture-group really signifies music. Music dominates the painting of Watteau and Fragonard and the art of Gobelins and pastels, and since then, have we not acquired the habit of speaking of colour-tones or tone-colours? And do not the very words imply a recognition of a final *homogeneity* between the two arts, superficially dissimilar as they are? And are not these same words perfectly meaningless as applied to any and every Classical art?"⁷¹

Here is a possible explanation of the thrice-familiar theory that artistic and philosophic tendencies, like the Renaissance, Romanticism, etc., show themselves in music only long after their appearance in the other arts. Partly this idea springs from a total misunderstanding of the art or the music of the periods to which we refer. Philippe de Vitry, with whose name the musical movement known as *ars nova* is connected, was approximately contemporary with Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Giotto, Andrea

⁶⁷I, 230, 299.⁶⁸I, 226-227, 295.⁶⁹I, 239, 310-311⁷⁰I, 280, 360-361⁷¹I, 232, 301-302.

Pisano. Nor was this mere chronological coincidence: Philippe de Vitry translated the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Is it reasonable to suppose that Philippe the poet was two or three centuries in advance of Philippe the composer, *in what he tried to express*? Hardly. But we can easily understand it if the material Philippe de Vitry used as a composer was not truly contemporary with the material of Petrarch and Boccaccio and Giotto. For it was characteristic of Western Culture that music should achieve predominance in it; and this was in the youth of that Culture, when its conquest of the other arts was still to be made. Music's intimate connection with Christianity offers, as Cecil Gray suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 118), another reason for the apparent delay in its reflection of the Renaissance. Moreover, is not the notion of the lag of music's history partly traceable to a narrow view of music's geographical field? Are not, for example, Morley, Dowland, Wilbye, Weelkes, true contemporaries, in spirit as well as in date, of Shakespeare, Marlowe, Raleigh? Are not, finally, Beethoven and Goethe contemporaries?

Weakest of all, perhaps, is the notion that music is so complicated and subtle an art that it could not be developed as soon as the other arts. Is it likely that it was nothing but technical immaturity that kept the Greeks, who built the Parthenon, from developing a music comparably subtle? The Gabriellis, the Naninis, Marenzio, Willaert, Sweelinck, Palestrina, Orlando Lasso, were not *technically* the inferiors of Titian, Correggio, Tintoretto, Veronese. (See the quotation on page 155 to which note 79 refers; and see note 124.)

Clearly the theory that music of necessity lags behind the other arts needs reëxamination; and in that reëxamination Spengler's outlook must figure prominently.

* * *

What, on the other hand, was the Classical art of music? And what shall be said of the historical relations between it and Western Music?

In considering these questions, Spengler would warn against one thing above all others: ignorance of the fact that for us the essence of Greek art is necessarily a closed book.

"... The prime conceptions originated in the quite differently constituted soul of the Greek, like ἀρχή, ὕλη, μορφή, comprise the whole content of his world. But this world is differently constituted from ours. It is, for us, alien and remote. We may take these words of

Greek and translate them by words of our own like 'origin,' 'matter' and 'form,' but it is mere imitation, a feeble effort to penetrate into a world of feeling in which the finest and deepest elements, in spite of all we can do, remain dumb; it is as though one tried to set the Parthenon sculptures for a string-quartet, or cast Voltaire's God in bronze."⁷² "And similarly we elucidate the characters of early Egyptian and Chinese portraits with reference to our own life experience. In both cases we deceive ourselves. That the artistic masterpieces of all Cultures are still living for us—'immortal' as we say—is another such fancy, kept alive by the unanimity of our viewpoint towards them, a viewpoint which necessarily differs from that from which their own Culture regarded them."⁷³ "The 'beauty' that Classical sculpture and poetry contained for Classical eyes is something different from the beauty that they contain for ours—something extinguished irrecoverably with the Classical soul—while what we regard as beautiful in it is something that only exists for us."⁷⁴ "The 'Apollo with the Lyre' at Munich was admired by Winckelmann and his time as a Muse. Till quite recently a head of Athene (a copy of Praxiteles) at Bologna passed as that of a general."⁷⁵ "We are told again and again how much of Greek philosophy still lives on today, but this is only a figure of speech without real content, for first Magian and then Faustian humanity, each with the deep wisdom of its unimpaired instincts, rejected that philosophy, or passed unregarding by it, or retained its formulæ under radically new interpretations. The naïve credulity of erudite enthusiasm deceives itself here—Greek philosophic notions would make a long catalogue, and the further it is taken, the more vanishingly small becomes the proportion of the alleged survivals. . . . It is impossible to overpraise the wisdom (quite unconscious) that governed the choice and the unhesitating transvaluation of what was chosen."⁷⁶ "The fact of the archaic Greek Apollo-type being 'influenced' by Egyptian portraiture, or early Tuscan representation by Etruscan tomb-painting, implies precisely what is implied by that of Bach's writing a fugue upon an alien theme—he shows what he can express with it."⁷⁷ "Every relation that was accepted was not only an exception but also a misunderstanding, and the inner force of a Being is never so clearly evidenced as it is in this *art of deliberate misunderstanding*. The more enthusiastically we laud the principles of an alien thought, the more fundamentally in truth we have denatured it."⁷⁸

Diametrically opposed to this point of view has been much of the best thinking on the problems of Greek music and its relations to "music in general." And yet in the light of Spengler's protest, does not this point of view of the Western-European, looking at Greek music as the ancestor of his own, casting out as unimportant those "details" which conflict with that view, seem provincial?

⁷²I, 178, 235.

⁷³("die durch die Einmütigkeit des Andersverstehens aufrecht erhalten werden.") The translation of this last clause is my own. I, 165, 216.

⁷⁴I, 194, 252.

⁷⁵I, 265, foot-note 4; 341, foot-note.

⁷⁶II, 57-59, 65-66.

⁷⁷I, 221-222, 288.

⁷⁸II, 57-59, 65-66.

Riemann would have it that Greek music was an early stage in the development of the art of music, *a step in the right direction*: "That no long passages in epic poetry were 'through-composed' is virtually self-explanatory, since for the solution of a problem of that order a long musical development is a prerequisite—a development which cannot possibly be assumed to have preceded that early time."⁷⁹ Amiot and Roussier thought an influence of Chinese music upon Greek music, through a visit of Pythagoras to China, probable. Chavannes thought that it was the Greeks who influenced the Chinese. Louis Laloy partly shared the latter opinion.⁸⁰ Combarieu calls the music of the Greeks "a mere prolongation or variant of oriental music."⁸¹ Westphal saw not merely influence but identity between works of Greek and Western music: "The rhythmic doctrine of Aristoxenus is just as valid for modern [1885] composers, as for Pindar and Æschylus. . . . Yes, rhythm is one and the same thing in Pindar, Æschylus, Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, despite the differences which necessarily follow from the contrasts of their times and their races."⁸² Costanzo Porta, in the 16th Century, postulated the existence among the Greeks of a totally invertible polyphony. "Porta accordingly wrote a 4-part motet, *Vobis datum est cognoscere mysterium*, which could be sung upside down; and his contemporary Vicentino composed 4-part motets in each of the three Greek genera," quarter-tones and all. "But they represent as much knowledge of Greek music," Tovey remarks, "as we possess of the inhabitants of Mars."⁸³

In considering Greek music, "the chief points we have to bear in mind are," as Mountford⁸⁴ says:

"(1) All notions derived from modern or even mediæval music must be resolutely set aside. Neglect of this led Westphal and Gevaert into exaggerating the similarities they could trace between Greek and modern music.

"(2) Little help can be derived from the extant fragments of Greek music. They are all very mutilated or the products of the

⁷⁹Hugo Riemann, *Kleines Handbuch der Musikgeschichte mit Periodisierung nach Stilprinzipien und Formen*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 6. Yasser's *Theory of Evolving Tonality*, New York, 1932, is based on a similar view of the evolution of music as a linear development. Yasser is thus diametrically opposed to Spengler, whose work his in so many ways resembles. See also p. 153 of this article.

⁸⁰Quoted in Combarieu, *op. cit.*, I, 48-49.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, I, 63

⁸²August Rossbach und Rudolph Westphal, *Theorie der Musikischen Künste der Hellenen*, Leipzig, 1885, *Erster Band*, pp. x, xi.

⁸³Encyclopædia Britannica, Fourteenth Edition, article on MUSIC.

⁸⁴J. F. Mountford, "Greek Music and Its Relation to Modern Times," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1920, Volume XL, Part I, pp. 13-42.

first two centuries of our era. They may be useful in checking our conclusions but by themselves they do not tell us much.

"(3) Though, commencing with Aristoxenus (320 B.C.), there are works on Greek music right down to the time of Bryennios (1350 A.D.), we have no technical writers of the period which is most important for our enquiry. For pre-Aristotelian times we have to rely mainly on musical references found in poets and philosophers who assume in their readers just that knowledge which we desire.

"(4) The quality of the later writings varies greatly."

Our problem in understanding Greek music is not unlike that of an archæologist of 2500 years hence who would have available for his study of Western European music a few books of Thuille, Dubois, Cherubini, and Goetschius, and half-a-dozen badly mutilated pieces of 17th- or 18th-century music with a few pieces from the twentieth. Einstein⁸⁵ takes Spengler to task for basing inferences on this meagre store of knowledge. But its meagreness has not prevented Gevaert, Rossbach, Westphal, Riemann, Ambros, Bellermann, Reinach, and others, from writing thousands of pages. Clearly this is not a field where angels fear to tread.

There are certain technical features of Greek music, first of all, which may easily be interpreted as supporting Spengler's picture of the Classical soul and its expressions.

Take the primitive lyre, the kithara. It had seven strings of which, if the highest was d, the lowest was e, a seventh below. This e, the lowest note, according to our terminology, was called *ὑπάτη*, a contraction for *ὑπεραιτή*, meaning "uppermost."⁸⁶ Similarly, the notes of the lowest of the four tetrachords were called *ὑπάται*. What we call *lowest* the Greeks called *uppermost*. This and similar points have puzzled scholars and led to much doubt and confusion in discussions of Greek scales, etc. But a simple application of Spengler's key to the difference between Classic and Western approaches to phenomena suggests at least a possible explanation. The Greeks, ever concerned with bodily magnitudes, observed that a long string (if held vertically, a "high" string) produced one kind of note, and that a short ("low") string produced the opposite. What more natural than to call the one a high note, and the other a low? We, on the other hand, with our preoccupation with function and the dynamic, call that note high which is produced by a high rate of vibration, and by a state of high tension, in the string.

⁸⁵*Op. cit.*

⁸⁶Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

Similarly, we think of scales as groups of notes in ascending order; the Greeks thought of them (or at least of their tetrachords) in what we call descending order. The central scale of the Greeks (if they had one) seems to have been the Dorian:



The central scale of Western music is the major:



"The natural melodic motion, the Greeks said (Aristotle, Prob. XIX, 33), proceeds from the high to the low, and the next to the last note, which may be said to lean upon the lowest [*qui s'appuie en quelque sorte sur la plus grave*], plays a rôle analogous to that of the leading tone in our modern octaves, but in the opposite direction. Such is the type of the 'Hellenic tetrachord.'"⁸⁷ When the Greeks accompanied the voice the accompaniment was at a higher pitch than the voice. "Why is it," asks Aristotle⁸⁸ (Prob. XIX, 21), "that of singers those who are singing low notes are more conspicuous if they sing out of tune than those who are singing high?"

Again, the unit of measurement in our music, the whole-note, is divided into fractional notes. The unit of measurement in Greek music, the *χρόνος πρώτος*, was the shortest note, the length of the shortest syllable; it was increased by multiplication, but never divided. The rhythm of classical poetry and music consisted in the proportional relations between these indivisible units and their multiples—like the dots and dashes of the Morse code. The rhythm of western poetry and music, on the contrary, has less to do with such purely durational proportions than with a feeling of progression, direction, reinforced by accent—dynamic, melodic, harmonic.

A few essential contrasts like these between Greek and Western music seem to bear out Spengler.⁸⁹ But Spengler does not stop

⁸⁷Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁸⁸The *Problemata* is believed by E. J. Forster, from whose translation this sentence is quoted, to be perhaps a compilation by several hands of material partly drawn from Aristotle's work of the same name, the compilation dating from some time after the beginning of the Christian Era, possibly as late as the fifth or sixth century. I am indebted to Dr. Ralph Marcus for this reference.

⁸⁹For further such contrasts see the *Avertissement* and early chapters of Maurice Emmanuel's *Histoire de la Langue Musicale*, Paris, 1928.

with such technical contrasts (if, indeed, he is aware of them). He states explicitly that music occupied in the Classical Culture a subordinate place corresponding to that of sculpture in Western Culture.⁹⁰

"In the Classical world . . . music was the art that failed. Beginning with probably quite important advances in the earliest Doric, it had to give way in the ripe centuries of Ionic (650-350) to the two truly Apollinian arts, sculpture and fresco. . . . Possibilities of great music there must have been in the Doric springtime—how otherwise can we account for the importance of old-fashioned Sparta in the eyes of such musicians as there were later (for Terpander, Thaletas and Alcman were effective there when elsewhere the statuary art was merely infantile)?—and yet the Late-Classical world refrained. . . . Renouncing harmony and polyphony, it had to renounce therewith any pretensions to organic development as a higher art."⁹¹

No, not in music but in sculpture Classical man found an art appropriate to his view of the world. Classical sculpture and Western music are "homologous forms."⁹²

"The statue is rooted in the ground, Music (and the Western portrait *is* music, soul woven of colour-tones) invades and pervades space without limit. The fresco-painting is tied to the wall, grown on it, but the oil-painting, the 'picture' on canvas or board or other panel, is free from limitations of space."⁹³ "The worked stone is only . . . what it *has become* under the sculptor's chisel."⁹⁴ "We have before us a symbol of becoming in every bar of our music from Palestrina to Wagner, and the Greeks a symbol of the pure present in every one of their statues. The rhythm of a body is based upon a simultaneous relation of the parts, that of a fugue [upon] the succession of elements in time."⁹⁵

"The history of the Classical shaping art [bildende Kunst] is one untiring effort to accomplish one single ideal, viz., the conquest of the free-standing human body as the vessel of the pure real present. . . . The evolution of this rigorously *nonspatial* art occupies the three centuries from 650 to 350, a period extending from the completion of the Doric and the simultaneous appearance of a tendency to free the figures from the Egyptian limitation of frontalness to the coming of the Hellenistic and its illusion-painting which closed off the grand style. This sculpture will never be rightly appreciated until it is regarded as the last and highest Classical, as *springing from a plane art, first obeying and then overcoming*

⁹⁰The idea is not new, though Spengler's emphasis and the conclusions he draws are. Thirty-five years earlier, Rossbach and Westphal (*op. cit.*, p. 32) had called attention to the relative superiority of sculpture and the dance in Classical and of music and architecture in Modern times.

⁹¹I, 223, 245, 291, 318.

⁹²I, 111, 152. In the translation the word "orchestration" is incorrectly given for "Instrumentalmusik."

⁹³I, 266, 343. I have slightly amended the translation of this last sentence.

⁹⁴I, 63, 87. ⁹⁵I, 97, 132.

the fresco⁹⁶ [as music first obeyed and then overcame oil-painting, in Western Culture; see pp. 151-152]. . . . Polycletus and Phidias align themselves with Bach and Handel; as the Western masters liberated strict musical form from the executive methods of the Painting, so the Greek masters finally delivered the statue from the associations of the Relief. And with this full plastic and this full music the two Cultures reach their respective ends. . . . Polycletus could produce his 'canon' of the proportions of the human body, and his contemporary Bach ["contemporary" in the sense that he appeared at the same stage in his Culture] the 'Kunst der Fuge' and 'Wohltemperiertes Klavier'. . . . Compare the meaning of the word 'figure' to Haydn with its meaning to Praxiteles. . . . With the exit of fresco [in the Classical Culture] and oil-painting [in the Western], the great masters of absolute plastic and absolute music file on the stage, man after man. Polycletus is followed by Phidias, Pæonius, Alcámenes, Scopas, Praxiteles, Lysippus. Behind Bach and Handel come Gluck, Stamitz, the younger Bachs, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven. . . . The aim thus finally attained is a union of the artistic and the mathematical spirit, for analysis like music, and Euclidean geometry like plastic, have both come to full comprehension of their tasks and the ultimate meaning of their respective number-languages."⁹⁷

The thesis that music was an inferior art among the Greeks is one which, from the evidence at hand, cannot perhaps be proved. Can it be disproved? For Spengler, of course, the inner necessities of the prime-symbol of Classical Culture prove it well enough. But for those less willing than he to arrive at important conclusions guided by pure intuition, an examination of the arguments is in order. The evidence is certainly insufficient to establish the validity of Spengler's scheme of the chronology of Greek music. Reinach⁹⁸ does describe the prevalent great virtuosity, lack of severity and *ethos*, seeking after effect, freedom from all convention and so on—surely the signs of decadence in music—as having taken place between 440 and 300 approximately, a period that corresponds roughly with the great period of Greek sculpture. Plutarch placed the beginning of the decadence at about 450. Euripides (d. 406) was frowned upon for seeking the aid of Iophon, son of Sophocles, in the musical setting of his dramas,⁹⁹ which may be taken (though it need not be) to indicate that when Greek music began to be an independent art its decadence likewise began. Certainly by the times of Plato, Aristotle, and Aristoxenus (4th century), music seems to have been a

⁹⁶I, 225, 293.

⁹⁷I, 284, 366. See also: I, 82, 113; 84, 115-116; 112, 152; 420, 545.

⁹⁸*Op. cit.*, 154-156.

⁹⁹S. H. Butcher. *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Arts, with a critical text and translation of the Poetics*, Fourth Edition, London, 1920, pp. 128-132. I am indebted to Mrs. Eugene V. Parsonnet for bringing this book to my attention.

thoroughly analysable (and perhaps therefore no longer living?) thing.

But how is one to reconcile this supposed abortiveness of Greek music with the oft-quoted passages from Plato, Aristotle, and the rest, emphasizing the moral importance of music? From their writings, certainly, it would seem that music held a much more important place in their scheme of education than it does in ours. While this is a subject for the Classical scholar, rather than for the musician, to settle, it is worth while to point out that while our word-music is derived from the Greek μουσική, the two words do not have the same meaning. "The word music (μουσική, *musica*) had, in the ancient world, two different meanings: one broad, the other narrow. In the broad sense it meant the whole of intellectual or literary culture, as opposed to the culture of the bodily faculties, grouped under the term *gymnastic*. . . . In the narrow sense, μουσική is approximately synonymous with our word derived from it; but the ancients included under music . . . the dance movements which accompanied singing, and the poetic text itself. [Italics mine.]"¹⁰⁰

"The Greek μουσική (sc. τέχνη) from which this word [music] is derived was used comprehensively for all the arts of the Nine Muses. Contrasted with γυμναστική (*gymnastic*) it included the culture of the mind as distinguished from that of the body."¹⁰¹

Combarieu says: "chez les Grecs, l'homme 'musicien' était l'équivalent de notre 'honnête homme' de l'ancien régime." And he quotes Plato: "It is then correct to say that he who will combine gymnastic and music in the best manner, and who will know how to use them in respect to his soul with the greatest balance [*mesure*], is a much better musician, and more learned in harmony, than he who tunes the strings of an instrument. (Republic, Bk. III.)"¹⁰² From a passage like this, it seems clear enough that Plato is either using his terms in senses very different from those we attribute to them, or talking in metaphors from which little direct information is to be obtained. From the relative unimportance which Plato apparently attaches to tuning the strings of an instrument it would certainly be easy to infer that he held at least technical knowledge of music in small regard.

¹⁰⁰Théodore Reinach's article on *Musica* in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1904. Μουσική, is defined as "any art over which the Muses presided, esp. music or lyric poetry"; "generally, art, letters, accomplishment"; "young Athenians were taught μουσική, (mousiké), γραμματα (grammata), γυμναστική (gymnastiké), Plat. Arist." *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon founded upon the Seventh Edition of Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon*, American Book Co.

¹⁰¹Tovey, *op. cit.*

¹⁰²Combarieu, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 156.

But Plato, Aristotle, and others, attributed strongly differentiated characteristics to the different *ἀκροῖα* (modes?), as well as to melodies or scales, finding the Dorian *ἀκροῖα*, disposing to courage, the Lydian or Ionian relaxing, etc. It may be thought that the clarity with which these characteristics are attributed argues a close and intimate acquaintance with them such as would be possible only to a people to whom music was a highly important art. "Even though we should be unable to appreciate ancient Greek music," says Mountford, "we must not assume that it was an inferior or undeveloped form of art. It was vastly different from our own but it expressed for the Greeks quite as much as our modern music does. They found it capable of influencing character, and an art which can do that is not to be derided because we are unaccustomed to its peculiar idiom."¹⁰³ It is well to avoid, however, here as elsewhere, placing too much reliance upon the remarks of philosophers and poets in judging the character of music. One has only to think again of what the future archaeologist might make of our music if his chief guide were our philosophers, novelists, poets, etc. (Spengler included), with their literary, Procrustean interpretations. "The jealous Fricka *did* hope (in F major) that the domestic comforts of Walhalla would induce Wotan to settle down. Wotan, gently taking up her theme in E flat, dashes her hopes by this modulation more effectively than by any use of his artilleries of tubas and trombones."¹⁰⁴ One hesitates to contemplate the possible inferences of the "relaxing, calm" character of F major, and the "disturbing, restless" character of E flat. And if one imagines further the lack of any general agreement on the precise meaning of the terms *key*, *major*, *flat*, *modulation*, the possible notions of the nature of our music are staggering. If these possibilities for misunderstanding exist in an article devoted to music, in which the passage quoted, in its context, is entirely legitimate, technical, and hardly even controversial, what will the 44th century make of passages referring to music whose context is not in all cases complete, taken from works which treat music only in passing?

Among modern writers, on the other hand, it is perhaps safest to look to one not chiefly concerned with music—and therefore free from the suspicion of having a pet theory—for light on the question of the definite characteristics expressible by music. In a work devoted generally to the æsthetic theories of Aristotle, S. H.

¹⁰³*Op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁴Donald Francis Tovey, Article on HARMONY, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Fourteenth Edition.

Butcher writes: "Music was held by Aristotle, as by the Greeks generally, to be the most 'imitative' or representative of the arts. . . . We generally think of it in a different way. The emotion it suggests, the message it conveys, corresponds but little with a reality outside itself, with a world of feeling already known. We cannot test its truth by its accordance with any original. . . . But to Aristotle, who here accepts the traditions of his country, the very opposite seems true. Music is the express image and reflection of moral character. 'In rhythms and melodies we have the most realistic *imitations* of anger and mildness as well as of courage, temperance and all their opposites. (Aristotle, *Pol.* v. (viii) 5. 1340 a18).' Not only states of feeling, but also strictly ethical qualities and dispositions of mind are *reproduced by musical imitation*, and on the close correspondence between the copy and the original depends the importance of music in the formation of character. Music in *reflecting* character moulds and influences it."¹⁰⁵

Now, it is just the freedom from imitation and representation that has made music occupy its outstanding position among the Western arts. So that when Aristotle says that "in rhythms and melodies we have the most realistic *imitations*" of emotions, he is showing the dependence of music as an art among the Greeks. The greatness of a Bach fugue or a Beethoven symphony or string-quartet is in its "Jenseitigkeit," its transcendence of "anger and mildness as well as of courage, temperance, and all their opposites." When we speak of the consoling effect of music we mean its ability to take our attention from personal emotions into another realm¹⁰⁶—not any direct antidote to our sorrow. And that freedom from imitation and representation depends chiefly upon two character-

¹⁰⁵*Op. cit.*, pp. 128-132 (Italics mine). See also: A. O. Prickard, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, London, 1891.

¹⁰⁶The words "when we speak" raise the question: Who are "we"? For certainly the lay public fancies it feels definite emotions, even sees definite pictures, in music. But the Western Culture, in contrast to the Classical, is an esoteric culture, says Spengler: "Consider what it means that every one of our epoch-making works of poetry, policy and science has called forth a whole literature of explanations, and not indubitably successful explanations at that. While the Parthenon sculptures were 'there' for every Hellene, the music of Bach and his contemporaries was only for musicians." (I, 327, 423.) "The masses of Okeghem and Palestrina, or of Bach for that matter, were never intelligible to the average member of the congregation. Ordinary people are bored by Mozart and Beethoven, and regard music as something for which one is or is not in the mood." (I, 243, 316.) "We have the types of the Rembrandt expert, the Dante scholar, the expert in contrapuntal music, and it is a reproach—a justifiable reproach—to Wagner that it was possible for far too many people to be Wagnerians, that far too little of his music was for the trained musician. But do we hear of Phidias-experts or even Homer-scholars?" (I, 327, 423.) Spengler seems to have forgotten that he dismissed the Renaissance, 100 pages earlier, because "it never touched the people." See also: I, 85, 117. See also Wyndham Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-305.

istics of Western music which were not shared by Greek music—it is instrumental and polyphonic.

The primarily homophonic nature of Greek music has been mentioned above.¹⁰⁷ What basis is there for saying that it was also primarily vocal? It seems clear that some purely instrumental music did also exist among the Greeks. But the principal use of the primary Greek instruments, the kithara and the aulos, was in conjunction with the voice. The kitharodia, or lyrodia, was a vocal solo in which the singer—often, at the same time, the composer and poet—accompanied himself on the kithara or lyre. “The aulodia, on the other hand, required the coöperation of two performers: a singer and a player of the aulos; in this case the singer was the principal, and he alone, in contests, received the prize.” For purely instrumental solos, the aulos was more highly esteemed than the kithara.¹⁰⁸ And the aulos was said to have been invented by Athena to imitate wailing and sobbing.¹⁰⁹ The fact that Greek musical notations (both vocal and instrumental) may have arisen out of purely instrumental necessities does not prove anything more than that instrumental music, having no words to guide it, may have needed notation more than vocal music, which then afterwards made use of what was not originally intended for it. “. . . a verse of Homer, correctly pronounced, with a certain emphasis, constitutes, even without the intervention of an artificial *mélopée*, a veritable musical line: the natural durations of the syllables determine the division into feet (measures), the position of the tonic accents and circumflexes draws a melodic contour perceptible though rudimentary. When a composer ‘set to music’ a series of hexameters of this type, he found his task half done by the poet: all that remained for him to do was to choose the exact pitch of the notes on which the successive syllables were to be sung in such manner as to avoid monotony. . . .”¹¹⁰

And so we return to the question of “the dependent position which music occupied among the Greeks. It was one of the accessories of poetry, to which it was strictly subordinate. . . . ‘When there are no words,’ says Plato, ‘it is very difficult to recognize the meaning of harmony or rhythm, or to see that any worthy object is imitated by them. (Laws ii, 669 E.)’”¹¹¹ “Poetry,

¹⁰⁷p. 143 of this article.

¹⁰⁸Reinach, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-142.

¹⁰⁹¹⁴ According to the Scholiast commenting upon a passage of Pindar (Pyth., XII, 15), Athena invented the playing of the Aulos to ‘imitate the threnoi’ (the wailing) of the two Medusas on the death of their sister, beheaded by Perseus.” Quoted in Combarieu, *op. cit.*, I, 71.

¹¹⁰Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹¹¹Butcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-132.

music, and dancing constitute in Aristotle a group by themselves, their common element being imitation by means of rhythm—rhythm which admits of being applied to words, sounds, and the movements of the body. . . . The history of these arts bears out the view we find expressed in Greek writers upon the theory of music; it is a witness to the primitive unity of music and poetry, and to the close alliance of the two with dancing. Together they form a natural triad . . . the intimate fusion of the three arts afterwards known as the musical arts¹¹²—or rather, we should perhaps say, the alliance of music and dancing under the supremacy of poetry—was exhibited even in the person of the artist. The office of the poet as teacher of the chorus demanded a practical knowledge of all that passed under the term 'dancing,' including steps, gestures, attitudes, and the varied resources of rhythmical movement."¹¹³

There is, of course, no lack of authorities on the other side of this question—it is only natural that those who have interested themselves deeply in Greek music should be impressed with the importance of their subject. It would be useless and impossible to attempt to quote them. But on the other side no one, not even Spengler, has spoken more strongly than Tovey: "We may be perfectly sure that if the Greeks had produced a music equivalent to that of Palestrina, Bach or Beethoven, no difficulty of deciphering it would have long prevented us from recovering as much of it as we have recovered of Greek literature. The Oriental aristocrat is justified when we show such ignorance of our own music as to suppose that a music of similar calibre could have utterly disappeared from a living nation whose most ancient plastic art and literature command our respect and reward our study."¹¹⁴

III.

From all this the deduction is not merely that there is no causal connection (as of parent and child) between Greek music and our own. The fact is that our attempts to reconstruct Greek music—even should they succeed in permitting us to know that we were producing a series of sounds identical with such a series heard by the Greeks—are futile. For—and this is no longer a

¹¹²The term used by Rossbach and Westphal, *musische Künste*, the arts of the muses, is more accurate.

¹¹³Butcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139.

¹¹⁴*Op. cit.* Mountford, *op. cit.*, comes to the conclusion that "we may, without exaggeration, regard modern music as the lineal descendant of Greek."

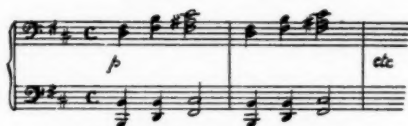
platitude—we could not hear it with the ears of the Greeks, or feel it with their soul. To attribute the few similarities that do exist between Greek music and our own to the “influence” of one upon the other is like accusing of plagiarism one of every two composers who wrote passages in any way similar. To “recognize” the Greek ἀρμονία as the ancestors of our scales is like recognizing

Brahms B-minor Rhapsody



as the ancestor, or the descendant, of

Grieg Peer Gynt Suite, No. 1: Ases Tod



Not only would the imagined causal connection between the two passages be false, but it would indicate a complete lack of understanding of the essence of at least one of them—to ignore the fact that while they have a brief melodic and rhythmic succession in common they differ in every other respect: key, harmony, color, instrumentation, dynamics, tempo, rhythm of accompaniment, context. Westphal, one of the most extreme proponents of analogies between Classical and Western arts, is at the same time remarkably close to Spengler in denying that the analogies spring from a causal relation, from the influence of one upon the other: “The resemblances [of a strophe of Pindar with the “strophe” of the *Allegro* of Beethoven’s First Piano Sonata] are as close as possible . . . ; and if we did not know that Beethoven’s work was written in 1796, one would be not far off in thinking that the composer was acquainted with the Boeckh edition of Pindar, which appeared between 1811 and 1821. . . . I fully understood the *Rhythmics* of Aristoxenus only after knowing the fugues of Bach. . . . The fugue in C# minor of J. S. Bach is like a mirror in which is reflected the iambic strophe of Æschylus. . . . What did Bach know about Greek poetry? Assuredly, he knew neither

Æschylus nor Sophocles. . . . If he reproduced the same form as the Greeks, it was in following his own instincts, his innate feeling for order and rhythmic beauty. He rose to these rhythmic creations spontaneously and freely, like the poets and composers of antiquity themselves, in whom we find the same *genius* as in him."¹¹⁵

Far from regretting, then, that Greek music has remained for us largely a closed book, and that our great composers knew nothing of it, we should rejoice in that fact, says Spengler.

"If Florence threw herself into the imitation of the Classical sculpture—at which everyone marvelled and of which no one possessed the final criteria—no harm was done. . . . But with tragedy it was another matter. Here there was the possibility of a mighty drama, purely Faustian, of unimagined forms and daring. That this did *not* appear, that for all the greatness of Shakespeare the Teutonic drama never quite shook off the spell of misunderstood convention, was the consequence of blind faith of the authority of Aristotle. What might not have come out of Baroque drama had it remained under the impression of the knightly epic and the Gothic Easter-play and Mystery, in the near neighbourhood of Oratorios and Passions, without ever hearing of the Greek theatre! A tragedy issuing from the spirit of contrapuntal music, free of limitations proper to plastic but here meaningless, a dramatic poetry that from Orlando Lasso and Palestrina could develop—side by side with Heinrich Schütz, Bach, Handel, Gluck and Beethoven, but entirely free—to a pure form of its own: that was what was possible, and that was what did not happen; and it is only to the fortunate circumstance that the whole of the fresco-art of Hellas has been lost that we owe the inward freedom of our oil-painting."¹¹⁶

To the similarly fortunate circumstances that we have been unable to decipher with certainty what few fragments of Greek musical notation survive, we owe, Spengler would say, the independence and the greatness of what we know as the art of music.

IV.

One feature of Spengler's thought—the feature from which his work takes its title, and about which (wrongly, as I think the reader should by now agree) interest in his work has largely centered—remains to be discussed. It has been mentioned that Spengler believes each Culture to have an allotted life-span, to be no more able to avert senescence and death than is the individual who belongs to it.

¹¹⁵Passages from various works of Westphal quoted without specific citations by Combarieu (*op. cit.*, I, 166-167). Combarieu translated them into French, and I have translated his translation, so there may be slight differences from the original.

¹¹⁶I, 323, 417-418.

"Long ago we might and should have seen in the 'Classical World' a development which is the complete counterpart of our own Western development, differing indeed from it in every detail of the surface but entirely similar as regards the inward power driving the great organism towards its end. We might have found the constant *alter ego* of our own actuality in establishing the correspondence, item by item, from the 'Trojan War' and the Crusades, Homer and the Nibelungenlied, through Doric and Gothic, Dionysian movement and Renaissance, Polycletus and John Sebastian Bach, Athens and Paris, Aristotle and Kant, Alexander and Napoleon, to the world-city and the imperialism common to both Cultures."¹¹⁷ . . . the 'Decline of the West' comprises nothing less than the problem of *Civilization*. . . . What is Civilization, understood as the organic-logical sequel, fulfillment and finale of a Culture?

"For every Culture has *its own* Civilization. In this work, for the first time, the two words, hitherto used to express an indefinite, more or less ethical, distinction, are used in a *periodic* sense, to express a strict and necessary *organic succession*. The Civilization is the inevitable *destiny* of the Culture, . . . a conclusion, the thing-become succeeding the thing-becoming, death following life, rigidity following expansion, intellectual age and the stone-built, petrifying world city following mother-earth and the spiritual childhood of Doric and Gothic. They are an end, irrevocable, yet by inward necessity reached again and again. . . . The transition from Culture to Civilization was accomplished for the Classical world in the 4th, for the Western in the 19th Century."¹¹⁸ "So long as the man of a Culture that is approaching its fulfillment still continues to live straight before him naturally and unquestioningly, his life has a settled conduct. This is the *instinctive* morale, which may disguise itself in a thousand controversial forms, but which he himself does not controvert because he *has it*. . . . As late as Plato and as late as Kant ethics are still mere dialectics, a game with concepts, or the rounding-off of a metaphysical system, something that at bottom would not be thought really necessary. The Categorical Imperative is merely an abstract statement of what, for Kant, was not in question at all. But with Zeno and with Schopenhauer this is no longer so. It had become necessary to discover, to invent or to squeeze into form, as a rule of being, that which was no longer anchored in instinct; and at this point therefore begin the civilized ethics that are no longer the reflection of Life, but the reflection of Knowledge upon Life."¹¹⁹

Schönberg's avowed intention to substitute theoretical tentatives for theoretical imperatives fairly leaps to mind. Nor does Spengler hesitate to draw the musical inferences:

"The symptom of decline in creative power is the fact that to produce something round and complete the artist now requires to be emancipated from form and proportion. . . . In Bayreuth and in Pergamum, it was the superpersonal Rule, the absolute mathematic of Form, the Destiny immanent in the quietly matured language of a great art, that was found to be intolerable. The way from Polycletus to Lysippus and

¹¹⁷I, 26-27, 36. See also: I, 108-113, 147-153.

¹¹⁸I, 31-32, 42-43.

¹¹⁹I, 354ff., 455ff.

from Lysippus to sculptors of the groups of Gauls is paralleled by the way from Bach, by Beethoven, to Wagner. The earlier artists felt themselves masters, the later uneasy slaves, of the great form. While even Praxiteles and Haydn were able to speak freely and gaily within the limits of the strictest canon, Lysippus and Beethoven could only produce by straining their voices. The sign of all living art, the pure harmony of 'will,' 'must' and 'can,' the self-evidence of the aim, the un-self-consciousness of the execution, the unity of the art and the Culture—all that is past and gone. . . . Once upon a time, Freedom and Necessity were identical, but now what is understood by freedom is in fact indiscipline. . . . Bach, Haydn, Mozart and a thousand obscure musicians of the 18th Century could rapidly turn out the most finished work as a matter of routine, but Wagner knew full well that he could only reach the heights by concentrating all his energy upon 'getting the last ounce' out of the best moments of his artistic endowment.¹²⁰

"Between Wagner and Manet there is a deep relationship, which is not, indeed, obvious to everyone, but which Baudelaire with his unerring flair for the decadent detected at once. . . . All that Nietzsche says of Wagner is applicable, also, to Manet. Ostensibly a return to the elemental, to Nature, as against contemplation-painting (*Inhaltsmalerei*) and abstract music, their art really signifies a concession to the barbarism of the Megalopolis, the beginning of dissolution sensibly manifested in a mixture of brutality and refinement. As a step it is necessarily the last step. An artificial art has no further organic future, it is the mark of the end.

"And the bitter conclusion is that it is all irretrievably over with the arts of form of the West. The crisis of the 19th Century was the death-struggle. Like the Apollinian, the Egyptian and every other, the Faustian art dies of senility, having actualized its inward possibilities and fulfilled its mission within the course of its Culture."¹²¹ "After Lysippus no great sculptor, no artist as man-of-destiny, appears, and after the Impressionists no painter, and after Wagner no musician. The age of Cæsarism needed neither art nor philosophy."¹²² "In a few centuries from now there will no more be a Western Culture, no more be German, English or French than there were Romans in the time of Justinian. Not that the sequence of human generations failed; it was the inner form of a people which had put together a number of these generations as a single-gesture, that was no longer there. . . . One day the last portrait of Rembrandt and the last bar of Mozart will have ceased to be—though possibly a coloured canvas and a sheet of notes may remain—because the last eye and the last ear accessible to their message will have gone."¹²³

"What is practised as art today—be it music after Wagner or painting after Cézanne, Leibl, Menzel—is impotence and falsehood. . . . There

¹²⁰Einstein, *op. cit.*, ridicules this contrast: "Wagner," he says, "is the classic example of extraordinary facility of production!" This about a man who confessed his dependence upon the stimulation of luxurious surroundings, who possessed twenty-four silk dressing gowns, and whose creative activities depended so importantly upon his relations in love. One has only to think of Bach or Haydn or Mozart in similar connections to see the truth in Spengler's comparison.

¹²¹I, 291-293, 376-379; 363, 468. On the place of Wagner in civilization, see also: I, 35, 47.

¹²²I, 425, 552.

¹²³I, 167-168, 219-220

have always been, for one great artist, a hundred superfluities who practised art, but so long as a great tradition (and *therefore* great art) endured even these achieved something worthy. . . . Under the spell of a great tradition full achievement is possible even to a minor artist, because the living art brings him in touch with his task and the task with him. Today, these artists can no longer perform what they intend, for intellectual operations are a poor substitute for the trained instinct that has died out. . . .¹²⁴ We can learn all we wish to know about the art-clamour which a megalopolis sets up in order to forget that its art is dead from the Alexandria of the year 200. There, as here in our world-cities, we find a pursuit of illusions of artistic progress, of personal peculiarity, of 'the new style,' of 'unsuspected possibilities,' theoretical babble, pretentious fashionable artists, weight-lifters with cardboard dumb-bells—the 'Literary Man' in the Poet's place, the unabashed farce of Expressionism which the art-trade has organized as a 'phase of art-history.' . . . What do we possess today as 'art'? A faked music, filled with artificial noisiness of massed instruments; a faked painting full of idiotic, exotic and showcard effects, that every ten years or so concocts out of the form-wealth of millennia some new 'style' which is in fact no style at all since everyone does as he pleases. . . . In the shareholders' meeting of any limited company, or in the technical staff of any first rate engineering works there is more intelligence, taste, character and capacity than in the whole music and painting of present-day Europe." "I can only hope that men of the new generation may be moved by this book to devote themselves to technics instead of lyrics, the sea instead of the paint-brush, and politics instead of epistemology."¹²⁵

"It will no doubt be objected that such a world-outlook . . . would be unhealthy for all and fatal for many, once it ceased to be a mere theory and was adopted as a practical scheme of life. . . . Such is not my opinion. . . . Up to now everyone has been at liberty to hope what he pleased about the future. . . . But henceforward it will be every man's business to inform himself of what *can* happen and therefore of what . . . *will* happen. When we use the risky word 'freedom' we shall mean freedom to do, not this or that, but the necessary or nothing. . . . To birth belongs death, to youth age, to life generally its form and its allotted

¹²⁴Compare the striking passage in Charles van den Borren's *Guillaume Dufay, Son Importance dans l'Évolution de la Musique au XV^e Siècle*, Brussels, 1926, pp. 126-129. "The impersonal, collective sentiment which predominates in the Masses of the 15th century," he writes, "does not in any way prevent the artists of genius from surpassing the mediocre and secondary talents. Obedience to ready-made formulas is not at all an obstacle in the way of the expansion of their creative faculties; the latter are, in spite of everything, clearly apparent through the rhetoric and give it a constantly broadened and renewed vitality. That is true of all times, whether the formula is the ancient Greek *vôuoc* or the Wagnerian, Franckist, or Debussyan clichés of our day. The only difference that can be observed is entirely to the advantage of those artists who are active during periods when the collective sentiment dominates individual inspiration."

Van den Borren draws a parallel, in illustrating the above generalization, between the school of Giotto and the school of Dufay. But the idea that this is a parallel between contemporary artists in different fields, as suggested by Paul Bergmans (in *Gand Artistique*, March 1929, 8^e Année, No. 3), is perhaps based on the fact that van den Borren's book refers to "l'art giottesque ou siennois du XV^e siècle"—an obvious misprint that should be corrected to read "XIV^e siècle."

¹²⁵I, 292-294, 377-380; 41, 56. See also: 42-50, 56-69, and II, 136-137, 163-164.

span. . . . Yet for a sound and vigorous generation that is filled with unlimited hopes, I fail to see that it is any disadvantage to discover betimes that some of these hopes must come to nothing. . . . What are we to think of the individual who, standing before an exhausted quarry, would rather be told that a new vein will be struck tomorrow . . . than be shown a rich and virgin clay-bed nearby? . . . Now at last the work of centuries enables him the [West-European] to view the disposition of his life in relation to the general culture scheme, and to test his own powers and purposes."¹²⁶

Ducunt Fata volentem, nolentem trahunt.

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It would be misleading not to make an admission before closing this article. Since I am interested not in Spengler himself but in his position, not in the flaws in his theories but in their importance for music history, I must confess to having picked and chosen my quotations carefully, with a view to presenting those theories as strongly as possible. Spengler has not always chosen so carefully. At times, on the other hand, his choice has been suspiciously careful: neither Brahms nor Albert Einstein is mentioned in the entire work. Among the examples I have chosen, the reader will find plenty to disagree with—perhaps some to snort at. Between the covers of "The Decline of the West" he will find very many more. And if he chooses to pick them from the second volume—as I have not, for the most part, since the relation of music history to the contents of that volume is much less close than to those of the first—he will find perhaps enough to make him want to discard Spengler and all his works.¹²⁷

¹²⁶I, 39-41, 54-56. The quotation from Seneca (Epist. 107) which follows is the one with which Spengler concludes "The Decline of the West." In his "Pessimismus?", published in 1921, Spengler calls attention to the fact that the whole cry of "pessimism" which has greeted his work would have been greatly diminished, if not eliminated, if he had substituted the word "fulfilment (*Vollendung*)" for "Decline."—*Preussische Jahrbuch*, April 1921, pp. 73-84. When Volume I appeared, the prospective contents of Volume II included a final chapter on "Russia and the Future"; but Volume II as published contains only a hint in that direction (pp. 192-196, 231-237).

¹²⁷The preface to the original German edition concluded with this sentence: "Ich habe nur den Wunsch beizufügen, dass dies Buch neben den militärischen Leistungen Deutschlands nicht ganz unwürdig dastehen möge" ("I wish to add only the hope that this book may not be found too unworthy to stand beside the military achievements of Germany"). This sentence has been omitted from the English translation. Spengler is full of scorn for the mere thinker, as opposed to the doer: "the man who is destined either by the power of his mind or the defect of his blood to be an intellectual," he calls him. "There is sense in the contempt with which statesmen and soldiers of all times have regarded the 'ink-slinger' and the 'bookworm'. . . . A history of Western thought may not contain the name of Napoleon, but in the history of actuality Archimedes, for all his scientific discoveries, was possibly less effective than that soldier who killed him at the storming of Syracuse." II, 16-17, 20-22. The answer, if any answer is needed, is that Spengler, an outstanding ink-slinger and bookworm, has had a profound effect on the course of events in his own country.

But even in the digest I have presented there is enough to disagree with. Almost any part of Spengler's structure can be attacked as weak.¹²⁸ But simply to dismiss Spengler's challenge on that account, or to point out any number of hasty deductions, ungrounded generalizations, and the like, seems to me too easy. Some of the parts that are superficially worked out nevertheless carry fundamental implications. Many of them everyone will reject, though the choice will vary with each reader. Yet in some ways the whole structure is perhaps greater than the mere sum of its often not too impressive parts. Spengler has dared in the course of a critical and historical work to make many generalizations ordinarily reserved for poetry, draw comparisons of a type most common in conversation, build up syntheses such as rarely escape the bounds of private reflection. He has dared, often, to make a fool of himself, and the fact that he has often succeeded in doing so does not destroy the value of what he has achieved by the daring. I do not—nor does any reader, probably—agree with many of his theses. But almost any one of them, if seriously considered, raises questions that are bound to survive the particular answers—often incorrect—that Spengler makes.

Spengler's process has been to enunciate a theory and then to ransack the fields of human knowledge for material to vindicate it. It is not a method to be commended for general use. But in special cases it has its value, as Wyndham Lewis points out in his own defense, in *Time and Western Man*. One can say for Spengler no more, and no less, than is contained in the passage Lewis quotes from Caird's *Evolution of Theology*:

"When some aspect of thought or life has been for a long time unduly subordinated, or has not yet been admitted to its rightful place, it not seldom finds expression in a representative individuality, who embodies it in his person and works it out in its most exclusive and one-sided form, with an almost fanatical disregard of all other considerations—compensating for the general neglect of it by treating it as the one thing needful. . . . And the neglected truth, or half-truth, which they thrust into exclusive prominence, gradually begins by their means to gain a hold of the minds of others, forces them to reconsider their cherished prejudices, and so leads to a real advance of thought."

¹²⁸Erich Frank's article in the special number of *Logos* devoted to Spengler (cited in foot-note 8) is a brilliant and often devastating attack on many phases of Spengler's discussion. His conclusion, pp. 254-259, is especially worth reading.

STYLE-CRITICISM

By GUIDO ADLER

IN 1911 were published two books on musical style: one by the distinguished composer Sir Hubert Parry, Director of the Royal College of Music in London, another by myself. Without speaking to one another of our books, without even mentioning the subject of musical style, we met that year at the Congress of the International Musical Society in London. The coincidence is a sign of the way in which the complex of questions and problems having to do with musical style was then coming to the fore. Parry's approach to the subject was primarily artistic; I stressed the scientific side. To concern oneself with musical style was, one might say, "in the air." Not that the word "style" had not been mentioned before or that there had not already been isolated attempts to deal with single aspects of the question. The point is that there had previously been no intensive examination of the problem, that it had not hitherto been treated in a penetrating, comprehensive way.¹

During the eighteenth-seventies and eighties musical historians were working with various kinds of method. Spitta elected the philological approach, Chrysander the biographical; Ambros sought to draw a parallel between musical and plastic art. Some had recourse to æsthetics and ethics; others chose the point of view of general history, seeking to fit music into the historical structure as a whole; many treated their special problems without any method at all, following whatever plan seemed to them best. Spitta could well speak of a jumble (*Wirrwarr*) of methods.

In my introductory essay on the scope, method, and aim of musicology, published in 1885 in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, which helped to lay the foundation of modern musical science,² I touched only lightly on the question of method. Realizing that a reliable and comprehensive plan would have first to be

¹Heinrich Wölfflin's *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* was published in 1915. Not until then, as a reviewer observed at the time (*Baseler Nachrichten*, September 21, 1917), was there a book signifying for the scientific study of the fine arts what my "Style" had for four years signified for music.

²In this essay the whole structure is said to be governed by "laws" (*Gesetze*); in my inaugural lecture for Vienna (*Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters*, V [1899], 8), I call them, more correctly, "style-laws" (*Stilgesetze*). One might also say "style-norms" (*Stilnormen*).

worked out, I promised to return to the subject later and, to further the working-out of such a plan, sought as investigator and teacher to combine under one head the various moments requiring consideration.³ I found that the vast complex could be summed up in the collective concept "style." Definition is less important here than coördination, unification. The word "style," as I have said before, had already been used occasionally in writing on music, just as it had already been used in writing on art. Now method and systematic arrangement were to center about it. Paraphrasing Buffon's epigram—"Le style c'est l'homme même"—one was to say: "Le style c'est l'art." The method was contrived and developed accordingly.

Eight years after the appearance of the first volume of my *Style in Music*⁴ I postponed bringing out the second volume,⁵ a few galleys having been printed, and turned to the publication of my *Method of Musical History*. The whole methodical procedure I sum up in the phrase "style-criticism." Its basic principles are set forth in the first volume of my book on style. Here I confine myself to a brief summary.

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The fundamental question is: What determines style? At the focal point are the specifically musical criteria—those of melody, tonality, harmony, polyphony, thematic material, and timbre. These are the antecedents of style-definition. From this focal point proceed the rhythmic and formal criteria. Analysis of form (*Formenanalyse*), taking all these elements into consideration, is the point of departure in the style-critical process. With it is associated analysis of content (*Inhaltsanalyse*), which inquires into the psycho-intellectual side of music.⁶ By considering the reciprocation and correlation of the analyses of form and content we arrive at authentic style-criticism of a higher order. If our pro-

³In my desire to understand, to make possible a uniform grasp of music's organic growth, I sought, even in my early studies, to combine the criteria distinguishing the categories in one basic concept (*Die historischen Grundklassen der christlich abendländischen Musik seit 1600*, 1880; *Studien zur Geschichte der Harmonie*, 1881, 1886).

⁴*Prinzipien und Arten des Stils* (2d ed., 1929).

⁵*Perioden der Musikgeschichte*. I present the fundamentals of period-division in my *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (1924; 2d ed., 1930), published in collaboration with leading musical scholars.

⁶Such analysis ought not to be restricted to the "Affekte," as it was during the eighteenth century, and as it is in Kretschmar's system of hermeneutics, where these constitute the beginning and end of methodical investigation.

cedure was at first analytic, it now becomes synthetic. Induction and deduction come alternately into play.

All the criteria involved are taken into consideration in fixing the limits of the innumerable style-varieties. I have tried to isolate these varieties in my "Style"; in my "Method" I explain the procedure followed in investigating them. They are in part dependent on the media employed (voices or instruments) and on the outward circumstances of composition (commissioned or spontaneous creation); the possibilities are simply incalculable, but they can be classified if we divide with sufficient precision. I have already distinguished several dozen varieties in my "Style"; in time to come, musicology will develop these distinctions and add to their number. In studying them, the auxiliary sciences (*Hilfswissenschaften*) are all essential.⁷ The various species (*Gattungen*) must be sharply defined.⁸

Arriving at the problems of historical development, we seek an explanation of the flowering of artistic accomplishment—its social employment and intellectual rank—in the cultural impulse, proceeding in this way to the three main types of style-definition—with respect to Time, Place, and Author.

In thus referring a work of art to its time and place, in defining its author, we avail ourselves of all outward helps (among them paleography and semeiography); we make use of the single criteria; we fix the limits of the style-periods.

Definition with respect to Time (*Zeitbestimmung*) is the essence of independent style-criticism. We arrange the several style-varieties in periods and study their mutual relationship and opposition, their individuality, their rise and fall. We survey the complexity of the occurrences within a period and seek to isolate the basic style with all its attendant phenomena. We follow the style-varieties in their chronological development.

Definition with respect to Place (*Ortsbestimmung*) has to do with localities, districts, countries, nations, perhaps even states. Here the question of folk-music enters in, as do linguistic differences (the relation of rhythm to meter) and international relationships. We make allowances for all sorts of extraneous factors, among them music trade, music printing, and the medieval scriptoria. We trace the continuity of local schools and study genetically their rise and fall, very much as we do in studying

⁷Enumerated in my introductory essay in *Vierteljahrsschrift* (pages, 10, 16-17).

⁸Parry also chose this point of departure. But he was not the first to recognize style-species, as a recent historian has erroneously asserted.

period-styles. In recognizing local origin or an intention to meet local demand we distinguish additional style-varieties.

Definition with respect to Author (*Autorbestimmung*) is style-criticism in its highest form. It is here that many investigators begin, using their studies of individuals as a basis for studies of places and periods. And it is here that many monobiographers end, unable to get beyond their special subject. "Personality is the highest bliss," as Goethe says,⁹ and more than one writer has consoled himself with the thought of this earthly paradise, though he may have failed to attain it, as usually happens. It is on the subject's personality as man and artist that emphasis belongs.¹⁰

In this kind of criticism the subjectively and objectively definable meet and part company. Comparisons test the instinctive, intuitive capacity of the observer. The lay critic takes his stand beside the trained scholar. Adaptation (*Einführung*) and assimilation (*Einstimmung*) are common to both. Here is a clear field for new estimates, a palæstra for æstheticizing reviewers, a conversational and literary battleground, open in the fine arts to commercial speculation. The historian should endeavor to take an objective position; others may claim the right to the subjective point of view.

The scholar presents his evidence scientifically and tries to distinguish the individual style-traits of the independent artist from the conventions of a school. Definition with respect to author sometimes turns on subordinate details, just as it does in the fine arts on the execution of the hands or the treatment of color. In performing or reading music an intellectual grasp of spiritual experience is peculiarly important.

Important, too, in considering questions of style, are the associations of music with the sister-art of poetry, the relations between it and the other arts. In individual cases they may contribute to style-definition, for together they are all part of the universal history of culture. Yet the historian of music must not allow the general historian to dominate him. No art, no cultural product, expresses the soul as music does; as Schiller says: "The soul is expressed by Polyhymnia alone."¹¹ But music also breathes life, like the plastic arts, and appeals, like poetry, to the intellect.

* * *

*
Höchstes Glück der Erdenkinder
Sei nur die Persönlichkeit.

¹⁰I take this position in my essays on Beethoven (1927) and Brahms (1933), availing myself of statistics and chronology as aids to style-criticism in the Brahms essay.

¹¹Leben atme die bildende Kunst, Geist fordr' ich vom Dichter,
Aber die Seele spricht nur Polyhymnia aus.

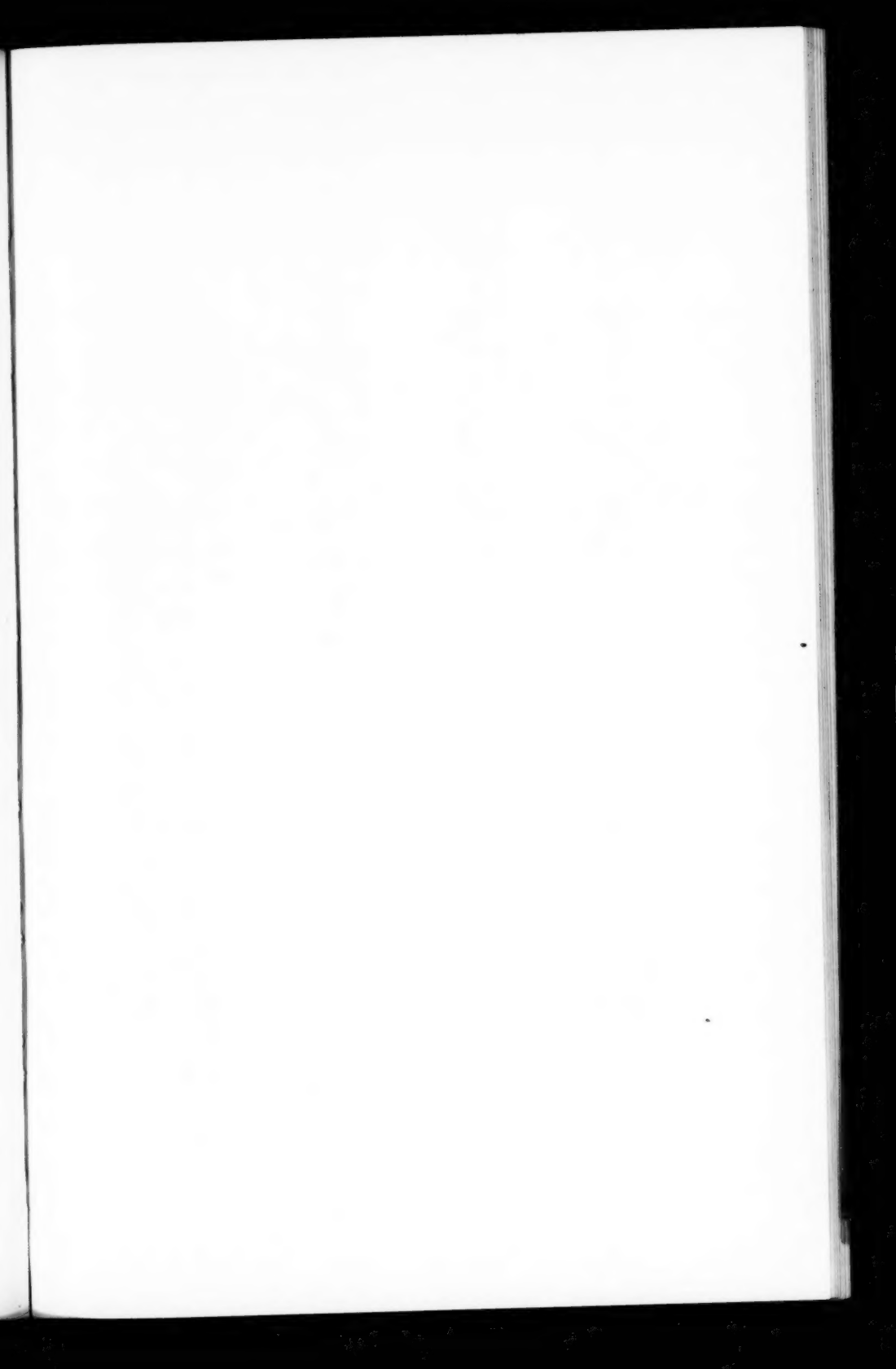
Let us not be alarmed by the vastness of the task still to be accomplished, by the multitude of problems still awaiting solution. We have only just begun our work; generations will be occupied in carrying it out. Style-criticism has been accepted by a fair number of scholars. Numerous books and articles based on its principles are being published in every country where a musicology deserving of the name is cultivated. On an average, the German university offers a dozen lecture- and recitation-courses described as "style-critical." Other courses, without specific reference to "style" or "style-criticism," are presumably conducted in the same way.

Whether the style-critical method of musical history can be applied to other fields of musicological research is a question requiring special investigation. The field of musicology is unlimited. Let us conscientiously put our own house in order, define our terminology, still far from uniform, and clarify our concepts, without allowing our method to become stereotyped, without restricting freedom of movement.

The individuality of the scholar must develop as the true artist's does. The right to present things in an individual way is fundamental in the scholarly fraternity. The scientific writer can and should have his own style. And in publishing the monuments of musical history, the editor or editors who have charge of the work on one master, one school, one form, will continue to make their own rules, as they have made them in the past, though in so doing they may not always be furthering the objectives of musical history.

To further these and other human objectives there should and must be international coöperation. In attaining it, style-criticism will play its part. Let us look to the future.

(Translated by W. Oliver Strunk.)





Chain-Gang in South Carolina.

From "Roll, Jordan, Roll" by Julia Peterkin, with photographs by Doris Ulmann.
(Reproduced by courtesy of Mrs. Ulmann.)

"SINFUL SONGS" OF THE SOUTHERN NEGRO

By JOHN A. LOMAX

I FIRST saw Iron-Head as he peered through the bars of the operating room of the hospital for Negroes on the convict farm. He was listening intently to the singing of "Mexico," the Negro trusty hospital-steward, into our recording machine. "I can sing lots of those 'jumped up' songs," said Iron-Head, when I had gone over to the window at his timid invitation.

That night and throughout the long day following, Iron-Head proved that he did know the songs of the black man. He and his "partner," Clear-Rock, turn and turn about, sang rhythmic, surging songs of labor; of the jailbird; of the "bleed hounds" tracking the fleeing Negro through river bottoms; of the bull whip ("Black Betty") and cowhide in the hands of an angry "Cap'n"; of the loneliness and dismal monotony of life in the penitentiary; of pathetic longing for his "doney"; of the bold black desperado with his trusty "forty-fo" in his hand and with his enemy lying dead in the smoke pouring from its blue barrel; of his woman "dressed in green, lavender and red," who waited hopefully outside the prison walls for his long deferred coming.

A few songs were gay in tone. Most of them were dominated by sadness. Here was no studied art. The words, the music, the peculiar rhythm, were simple, the natural emotional outpouring of the black man in confinement. The listener found himself swept along with the emotions aroused by this appeal to primitive instinct, and, despite himself, discovered his own body swaying in unison to the urge of Iron-Head's melodies.

A triple murderer, an "habitual," as he called himself, "De roughest nigger who ever walked de streets of Dallas; in de pen off an' on for 34 years," according to his own admission, Iron-Head failed to look the part. Only some deeply graven and grim lines about his mouth and eyes made you stop and wonder if any tenderness had ever touched his life. His massive head suggested pictures of blind Homer, with its rugged overhanging brows and deep-set eyes. He had the quiet dignity and reserve of a Roman. Amid the clamor and excitement of a room full of black convicts, hearing for the first time their voices coming from the recording machine, he alone preserved his gravity and composure. "You

have Indian blood," I said; and he nodded. "Sing *Shorty George, Iron-Head*," begged his companions. And they insisted and urged him until his quiet negative flamed into an outburst of anger:

"You niggers know dat song always tears me to pieces. I won't sing it." And he walked away from the crowd to the iron-barred door where he stood leaning against the jamb, looking out into the soft Texas moonlight. Soon he motioned to me.

"I'll sing dat song low for you," he said, as if in apology for his outburst. "It makes me restless to see my woman. I'se a trusty an' I has an easy job, I could run down one o' dem corn rows an' git away, any day. But when dey caught me dey would put me back in de 'line' wid de field han's. I'se too old for dat work." Then he sang the story of the convict who gets a letter that he can't read for "cryin'." It tells him that "His woman ain't dead, but she's slowly dyin'." When he reached the last couplet, his low-toned voice swept along with lyric power into the tragic finale:

*When dey let my baby down in de ground
I couldn't hear nuffin' but de coffin sound.*

Then Iron-Head, sixty-five years old, thrice a murderer, an habitual criminal (in the eyes of the law), a condemned prisoner for life, broke down and sobbed aloud.

I put my hand on his shoulder: "My wife is gone forever," I said, "I can never see her again. Your woman is alive." Iron-Head looked out of doors over broad fields of tall corn shimmering and whispering in the moonlight. Bitterness came back to his voice: "She might as well be dead; she cain't come here, an' I cain't go to her."

* *
*

"Gimme room, niggers,¹ gimme room. Let me at dat singin' machine. I'se de out-singingest nigger on dis here plantation. I'm de bes' rhymster in de Brazis² bottoms. I'se been in de pen forty-seven years an' I oughta know de songs. Git out o' my way!"

I saved my microphone from being overturned by the eager, confident, self-important, copper-colored man, as he pushed through the throng of black convicts surrounding me.

¹Without exception this pronunciation of the word "Negro" was given by all Negro workers we interviewed. The spelling is retained only for historical accuracy and with no thought of giving offence.

²Brazos river, one of three main arteries in Texas.

"Wait, Clear-Rock," I said, "later we'll try you out." Afterwards when I talked alone with him, I asked him what brought him to the penitentiary as a life-termer.

"I was jes misfortunate, boss, jes misfortunate. It might a-happened to anybody." A well-preserved man, seventy-one years old, unable to read or write, Clear-Rock sang "*Bobby Allen*," as he called the old English ballad "*Barbara Allen*," true to tune but hopelessly mixed with *Sir Patrick Spens*, *Little Lonnie*, and a famous cowboy-song entitled *The Streets of Laredo*. In fact he sang at times four versions of the same song, the variations being frequent and pronounced. A study of Clear-Rock's singing might furnish interesting data for some ballad-origin disputant. His song buried "Miss Allen" in a desert out in New Mexico with "six pretty maidens all dressed in white" for her pall-bearers, though there seemed water a-plenty for a rose and a brier to grow over her head till they reached the sky and "got twined in a knot and couldn't grow no higher."

Clear-Rock seemed to have caught in his capacious memory every floating folk-song that had been current among the thousands of black convicts who had been his only companions for fifty years. He had a store probably equal in continuous length to the *Iliad*. He did not sing any song through. Always I had to stop him and ask for another tune. Nor did he hesitate for a word. If he ever forgot (I could not discover), his quick invention supplied a word or line without a moment's pause and in the spirit and rhythm of the song he was singing.

He sang a new version of *The Old Chizzum Trail*, an endless ballad describing the experiences of a band of cowboys driving a herd of Texas longhorn cattle from Texas to Montana. One of his cowboys, riding an unruly horse, was thrown and left hanging on the limb of a tree along the trail. Clear-Rock sang four stanzas describing this incident and then ended his song.

"That's rather hard on that cowboy," I suggested, "to go on up the trail and leave him sprawling on a limb in what is doubtless an uncomfortable position."

"Lemme git him down, boss; I'll git him down!" And at once he sang in perfect tune:

*Cowboy lyin' in a tree a-sprawlin',
Come a little wind an' down he come a-fallin'.
Coma ti-yi yippy, yippy yea, yippy yea,
Coma ti-yi yippy, yippy yea.*

* *
*

Lightnin's eyes blazed as he sang. He was the leader of a quartet of black convicts brought from their cells into the vacant hospital room where Lightnin' stood leaning forward towards the microphone, his three companions in a group just behind him. His color was a deep black, "a blue-black, bad nigger," the stolid guard whispered to me. Lightnin' was still young—not yet thirty years of age—serving his second term for serious crimes. As his body swayed with the rhythm of the singing, his figure seemed a black Apollo in grace and beauty.

Lightnin' was leading a song describing the days when convicts were leased by the State to owners of large cotton and cane plantations, sometimes to be driven under the lash until they fell from exhaustion, many, according to rumor, dying from sunstroke amid the sun-baked rows of corn and cane, in "dem long, hot summer days." The song pictures what went on in the minds of a gang of field workers, one of whom was about to be punished.

The Negroes see the "Cap'n" riding up on his horse with a bull whip in one hand and a cowhide in the other. They work faster. "Better go to drivin'," says the song. After each excited ejaculation, the chorus rings out, "Great Godamighty!"

Ridin' in a hurry. Great Godamighty!
Ridin' like he's angry. Great Godamighty!
Well, I wonder whuts de matter? Great Godamighty!
Bull whup in one han', Great Godamighty!
Cowhide in de udder, Great Godamighty!
Gonna be trouble! Great Godamighty!
Well, de Cap'n went to talkin', Great Godamighty!
"Well, come here an' hol' him." Great Godamighty!
"Bully, low down yo' britches!" Great Godamighty!
"Cap'n let me off, suh!" Great Godamighty!
"Woncha 'low me a chance, suh?" Great Godamighty!
De bully went to pleadin', Great Godamighty!
De bully went to hollerin', Great Godamighty!

The listeners in the room grew tense as the four strong voices blended in the terrible sweep of the song. Again the stolid guard whispered to me: "The goose pimples always come out along my spine when I hear niggers sing that song." Even outside, in the adjacent iron-barred dormitory, the chatter and clamor of two hundred black convicts became stilled into awed and reminiscent silence as the song swept on, growing in power to the end, while Lightnin', blue-black, vivid, poised as if for flight, leaned forward and sang with his three comrades,

"Great Godamighty!"

* * *

The three foregoing incidents are typical of what happened during the summer of 1933 to my son, Alan, and me when we enjoyed some unusual experiences during a unique trip. Before returning to our home in Texas, we had travelled in a Ford car more than 15,000 miles and had visited and interrogated nearly 10,000 Negro convicts in four Southern states: Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee. In addition, we visited groups of Negroes living in remote communities, where the population was almost entirely black; also large plantations, where in number the Negroes greatly exceeded the whites; and lumber camps that employed only Negro foremen and Negro laborers.

The purpose of our trip was to record on permanent aluminum or celluloid plates, to be deposited in the Library of Congress, the folk-songs of the Negro—songs that in musical phrasing and poetic content are most unlike those of the white race, the least contaminated by white influence or by the modern Negro jazz. Through the Music Division in the Library of Congress, we were provided with the latest improved-model portable-machine for electrical sound-recording, with all the necessary accessories, including a fine microphone. Edison batteries, operating a direct current, enabled us to record singing wherever we found a good voice, in camp, cabin, or field. Likewise, a music-reproducing apparatus made it possible to play back at once any song recorded, to the very great astonishment and enjoyment of our black convict friends, nearly all of whom manifested an eager and enthusiastic interest in the project. I am innocent of musical knowledge, entirely without musical training. Before starting on the trip, I was impressed with a cautioning word from Mr. Engel, chief of the Music Division: "Don't take any musician along with you," said he; "what the Library wants is the machine's record of Negro singing and not some musician's interpretation of it; nor do we wish any musician about, to tell the Negroes how they ought to sing." The hundred and fifty new tunes that we brought to the Library at the end of the summer are, therefore, in a very true sense, sound-photographs of Negro songs, rendered in their own native element, unrestrained, uninfluenced and undirected by anyone who had his own notions of how the songs should be rendered.

Our search was mainly for the reels or so-called "jump-up," "made-up," or "sinful songs" of the blacks. On one occasion I asked a Negro whom I found picking cotton in a Brazos Bottom cotton field in Texas, to sing for me the famous Negro melody, "De Ballet ob de Boll Weevil." He shook his head, and said:

"Boss, dat a reel. If you wants to get dat song sung, you'll have to git one of dese worl'y niggers to sing it. I belongs to de church." It was the songs of the "worl'y nigger" that Alan and I were looking for, and we hoped to find them in their near purity among the most completely isolated Negro convicts, as well as on large, remote cotton plantations and in lumber camps, and Negro colonies, some of which we likewise visited on this tour. Since it seems so nearly impossible to transport Negro folk-singers from the South and keep them untainted by white musical conventions, the improved recording-machine affords the best means of preserving this music, widely known and loved for its intrinsic beauty.

Except in Tennessee, all the convicts we visited work on large cotton, corn, and cane plantations, where they are separated in companies of three or four hundred men, living in groups of well kept houses, that are situated in different parts of the big plantations. Both in Mississippi and Louisiana, the farms comprise about 25,000 acres each, with about a dozen different headquarters. The black convicts do not work or eat or sleep in the same buildings as do the white prisoners. They are kept in entirely separate units; they even work in separate fields. Thus a long-time Negro convict spends many years with practically no chance of hearing a white man speak or sing. Such men slough off the white idiom they may once have employed in their speech and revert more and more to the idiom of the Negro common people.

In my judgment, the songs and ballads we found and recorded this summer, under the conditions indicated, are practically pure Negro creations, both in words and music. Either that, or the songs have become so encrusted with Negro accretions that any trace of white influence is quite obscured. Long-term Negro convicts, I found, naturally resort to the songs they sang before coming to the penitentiary. Thus the old songs are kept alive and growing as they are passed along to successive generations of convicts. Sometimes an indulgent prison management allows a talented Negro prisoner to keep his own guitar for the entertainment of fellow prisoners, to be used occasionally when white visitors come in. On at least two farms I found well organized and efficient Negro bands. Perhaps the presence of black and sinister iron bars, crowds of men in dismal-looking grey stripes, and once a broad bull-whip hanging by a nail near the entrance door of the main dormitory, helped to emphasize the impression that a tone of sadness runs through the songs of Negro convicts.

* * *

There are particular reasons for the Negro's almost universal neglect of his secular or "sinful songs," songs far more numerous than the spirituals, and certainly, it seems to me, more original and revealing. Negro spirituals abound in idioms and phrases drawn directly from the Bible and from the older white spirituals. The secular songs treat of subjects vital to the Negro's life, every day of the week—his hates, his loves, his earthly trials and privations (including the injustice of the whites), hunger, thirst, cold, heat, his physical well-being, his elementary reactions; while the spirituals devote themselves mainly to the emotions aroused by death, the fear of Hell, the hope of Heaven, voiced and dwelled upon, usually, on the Sabbath only. The secular songs deal with situations as old as the Negro race; the spirituals, with a religion adopted in comparatively recent times.

Of these two types of musical expression, distinctly separated into two definite classes by the Negro mind, one, the secular songs, is taboo, emphatically taboo, to all Negro ministers, all Negro teachers, and to practically all Negroes of any educational attainments whatever. They are "sinful songs," songs that definitely connect them with their former barbaric life. Those that sing them cannot be church members—they are social outcasts. An intelligent Negro on the Sabine river in Texas kept his cabin door carefully shut while he sang some "plantation hollers," entirely innocent in content and beautiful in phrasing. Even in the penitentiaries we were sometimes met with a refusal to sing "sinful songs" by convicts still under the spell of their ministers, or the sway of what one guard called "penitentiary religion." "Many catch it," he said.

In one large Negro college, visited this summer, the President assured me of his sympathy and coöperation in having the students sing the songs for which I was searching. A stay of two days was barren of results, because in some secret unknown way the signal for thumbs down on my project was flashed over the campus. No so-called "sinful songs" were current there, although I heard occasionally from the windows of the dormitories snatches of songs I was eager to record, unwittingly sung by forgetful students. Black-Sampson, a Negro murderer in the Nashville penitentiary, would not sing an innocently worded levee camp-song into our microphone until ordered to do so by the Warden. Even then, without telling me beforehand, he prefaced the song with an humble apology to the Lord, explaining the situation and asking forgiveness for his transgression. That record will forever carry Black-

Sampson's spoken expiation for his sin of setting down a delightful tune and story.

* *

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It is well known that the Negro is fond of singing. He is endowed by nature with a strong sense of rhythm. His songs burst from him, when in his own environment, as naturally and as freely as those of a bird amid its native trees. There seems to be no attempt at artificial effects. There are few high dramatic notes or softened repetitions when the concluding bars are reached. He sings the last bar of a song with precisely the same emphasis as he does the first notes. His is the real art of simplicity and naturalness. Moreover, the Negro in isolation, without books or newspapers, the radio or the telephone, sings for his own amusement, to relieve the tension of his loneliness and that of his companions in misfortune. He recalls the songs known from his childhood; he memorizes the songs of his companions, fellow convicts, or fellow workers.

Because they still sing in unison with their work, because of this almost complete isolation and loneliness, because of the absence of "free-world" conventions in prison life, the Negro continues to create what we may rightly call folk-songs. They are not written out; they are orally handed down; they undergo inevitable changes in the process; they are seemingly endless; they vary with the singer and with each singing. Now and then there emerge lines of notable power and beauty. Two convicts sing a song of question and reply.

*Little boy, little boy, why are you in here so long?
I found my doney in de high sheriff's arms.*

* *

*

The dust rises stifling from a Mississippi River bottom, made inaccessible to cooling breezes by heavy fringes of surrounding timber. By three o'clock in the afternoon the black convicts are tired and worn out from the day's work that started at dawn. Heat, insupportable heat, seems to pour from a cruelly cloudless sky. The weary blacks, nevertheless, sing to a mournfully sad tune, with a wail for a chorus, a song in a slow rhythm fitted to the work they are doing:

*You oughta been here in 1904,
Lawd, Lawd, Lawd!*

*You could find a dead nigger at every turn-row,
Lawd, Lawd, Lawd!*

*You oughta been here in 1910,
Lawd, Lawd, Lawd!
Dey wuz rollin' de wimmen jus' like dey drove de men.
Lawd, Lawd, Lawd!*

Addressing the sun as Ole Hannah, they chant as they pray:

*Go down ole Hannah, doncha rise no mo',
Lawd, Lawd, Lawd!
If you rise anymo' bring on judgment day.
Lawd, Lawd, Lawd!*

One of their favorite "bad man" songs ends:

*Here I is, head bowed down wid shame,
Got a number instead ob a name,
I'se got to stay here de rest of my life—
All I ever done wuz to kill my wife.*

It is my belief that few persons in the United States, other than Southerners, have ever heard songs of Negro origin, words and music, sung with the artless simplicity that gives them what is to me their chief charm. I have listened to many quartets and clubs, representing Negro colleges; I have heard Negro singing in northern music halls and on the stage. But as yet I have heard none that did not inject into the Negro idiom some trait borrowed directly from conventional music of white origin. A Negro quartet—to give one apposite example—will almost invariably repeat in softer tones the last line of the last stanza of any spiritual that it sings. This practice, of dropping into the conventional musical idiom of the whites, seems to me to be due, at least partially, to two causes. In the first place, the Negro, living among a people allegedly his superior, is always strongly tempted to imitate them. He quickly adopts from the white man musical conventions that seem to him most effective. Secondly, those very qualities that render the Negro music distinctive, and often also more beautiful, he neglects and frequently abandons.

In this connection it is interesting to compare the musical arrangements used by the first group of the Fisk Jubilee Singers who went out to astonish America and Europe more than fifty years ago, with the arrangements of the identical songs as they are now commonly sung for public entertainment. These later versions are perhaps more musically ornate and interesting than were their forbears of the Fisk Singers; but that remains a question of taste. My point is that the first book of the Fisk Singers con-

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tained music more nearly representative of the singing of spirituals by the great mass of southern Negroes. They were certainly more like the original and "made-up" spirituals. Such songs can yet be heard in their rich and harmonious simplicity if one but goes to the right places. Those places are the remote Negro communities, or the sections where the Negro population is largely in excess of the whites. Negroes grow to resemble white folks where the models are sufficiently numerous. As a Negro song says:

*Niggers growin' mo' lak white folks,
Niggers growin' mo' lak white folks,
Every day.
Niggers learnin' Greek and Latin,
Niggers wearin' silk an' satin,
Niggers growin' mo' lak white folks,
Every day.*

The Negro is going farther in becoming "mo' lak white folks," than merely to modify his beautiful spirituals. Under the leadership of his preachers, his teachers, and his men of education, he is abandoning them as unworthy of perpetuation entirely. During the past summer, Manassas, Virginia, was recommended to me as a likely place to find genuine Negro spirituals. I made a long drive to reach the church, only to be greeted, when the singing began, by a surpliced choir that marched into the church to slow waltz-time music, derived from a book of cheap, white revival-tunes.

Sometimes the Negro's rough, vital creations grow into happily phrased groups of stanzas that may lay claim to real lyrical beauty. Here is an example, so far as I know never before recorded:

IDA RED

*I went downtown one day in a lope,
Fooled around till I stole a coat.
Den I come back and done my best,
Fooled around till I got the vest.
Oh, weep! O my Ida, fer over dat road
I'se bound to go.*

*Dey carried me down to de jail house do',
Where I never had been befo'.
De jailer came out wid a key in his han';
Said, "I just got room fer you, young man."
Oh, weep! O my Ida, fer over dat road
I'se bound to go.*

*Sent little Ida down in town
To git somebody fer to go my boun',
But she came back wid a very sad tale:
"Cain't git nobody fer to go your bail."
Oh, weep! O my Ida, fer over dat road
I'se bound to go.*

*Dey had me tied wid a ball and chain,
Waitin' all ready for de east-bound train;
And every station we pass by
Seem like I heard little Ida cry.
Oh, weep! O my Ida, fer over dat road
I'se bound to go.*

*If I had listened to what Ida said,
I'd been sleepin' in Ida's bed;
But I paid no mind to my Ida Red,
And now I'se sleepin' in a convict's bed.
Oh, weep! O my Ida, fer over dat road
I'se bound to go.*

*I wash my face and I comb my head,
I'm a mighty fool about Ida Red.
When I git out of dis old shack,
Tell little Ida I'm comin' back.
Oh, weep! O my Ida, fer over dat road
I'se bound to go.*

THE GROWTH OF A COMPOSER

By ROY HARRIS

THE creative impulse is a desire to capture and communicate feeling. Call that feeling what you will. Call it romantic fervor, call it a longing for truth, call it the atavistic burgeonings from the depth of the race-soul. Always is it a lonesome hunger that gnaws within the human heart, forcing us to search for an understandable race-expression. The successful translation of creative impulses uncovers, objectifies, and records our gamut of potentialities.

It is small wonder, then, that humanity regards the creative impulse as sacred. It is small wonder, indeed, that people of each generation approach new translations of their own time-spirit with fear and trepidation. If a human being from their midst takes it upon himself to translate, to communicate impulses from within himself, he endangers the self-respect, the self-confidence of the whole group. He may do no more than translate an old impulse—one that has been well translated before. This would imply stagnation of the group spirit. He may translate something unworthy, and thus defile the group spirit. He may fail to make an intelligible translation, and disappoint those who wanted to understand. Finally, if he achieves a fine translation of an authentic impulse, his very achievement may constitute a challenge to his fellow beings. He excels in sensitiveness, initiative, moral courage, power of coördination. And that is dangerous in a democratic society in which all men are held to be created equal.

Fear then—fear that the new composer will be successful, as much as fear that he will be unsuccessful—inevitably conditions the setting he finds for his music. This fear, moreover, exists not only in his audience (if he is fortunate enough to have one) but also in the musicians who must give the living sound-values to the symbols he has set on paper. These musicians are part of his social environment. They fear ridicule. They can ill afford to sponsor something that brings distress to people. They are cautious and timid, and their caution and timidity creep into their interpretations. Instead of the bold, clear tones that proclaim the accepted translations of past generations, there come forth wavering, turgid, lifeless, apologetic tones, tones that warn the

audience that the interpreting musicians do not morally stand behind the music.

The young composer, intoxicated with the creative impulse, writes his first piece. He wakes from his dream in the certainty that he is singularly blessed. He has not only felt music, but he has written it down and it will be performed. At the rehearsal, the performers ask him most embarrassing questions. He discovers that he has written not merely a piece, but a piece of many parts, and that each part is played by a specialist who expects his particular part to make sense by itself as well as in combination with the others. All the self-confidence is bullied out of the composer by these musicians who have observed, in this first piece, that he does not appreciate the peculiarities of their diverse instruments. Then, with the best intentions, the performance takes place. A stolid audience shouts the silent question, "Who is this fellow anyway? Why are we forced to listen to him?"

During the performance the composer has that sick feeling in the pit of his stomach: he has sullied something that glowed within him. Everyone must think that he was not truthful, that he falsified an account of long standing. After the polite applause has died, he must suffer the false congratulations of acquaintances and the encouraging condolences of friends.

When the last hand has been shaken, he is left to face the battle—and himself. All those great works that are so lightly taken for granted and that he so solemnly theorized about, until he was bored with them, rise before him with an overpowering force to testify to the sure hand of past masters. The evidence leads to an inescapable conclusion: *music must sound*. The whole piece must communicate a clear, intelligible impulse. Even if it is a mediocre impulse, it must go unfalteringly to the end. And this can only happen "with the ease of forgotten toil."

If music really is the most important thing in the composer's life, he will begin to be grateful for his humiliating experience. He is buoyed up by the discovery that each element of music offers a whole world of creative study in itself, that his years of preparation are not to be just years of academic suppositions, of learning how to do something. They are to be years of intense creative endeavor, of actual experience. He writes books of melodies and essays in melodic development; he harmonizes chorales; he practises contrapuntal designs both as the background for a dominant idea and as development of the idea itself. With each successive study (in melody, harmony, counterpoint, form, instrumentation), he creates a new life for himself. He goes along the streets, in sub-

ways, on hiking trips, he talks to people, at the same time seeing, hearing, analyzing, drawing melodic contours, weaving harmonic textures, fashioning contrapuntal designs and patterns, mixing orchestral timbres. Music becomes to him a plastic language of shapes and forms, colors and intensities. Music creates a new world for him, it offers him a new acting philosophy of positive values which he can isolate, examine, and mold. He begins to "metabolize" concerts with the ease with which most people absorb novels and the theatre. He relies more and more upon himself. He finds that he forms his own conclusions about music, both old and new, and that those conclusions are based on a set of standards which he has been unconsciously developing.

He begins to write compositions with the same intensive application with which he has been studying scores. He seems to be able to feel and think simultaneously, in a coördinated, concentrated way. Has the melody an interesting contour? Does it go somewhere, or is it the mere filling out of academic formulæ? Has it rhythmic variety? Does it contain motives that lend themselves to development? What instruments does it belong to? What kind of harmonic texture does it require? What is the natural and specific form into which this musical idea should flower?

His compositions are performed. He looks at them objectively, critically, as a good workman looks at his finished job. What was the matter with this particular place? It sounded dull. Why did that other place sound more brilliant than he had calculated? He finds that, as he writes, he is less self-conscious than he used to be, that he no longer goes through the torture of trying to pull something out of himself. And, ironically enough, he discovers that his best impulses come without being sought. They present themselves like long-lost friends, anxious to renew old, old memories. Spiritually, he is the same person that longed for the means of self-expression—and now this expression seems so natural, so unpremeditated. What a fool he had been to think that technique would mechanize his impulses!

Meanwhile, another process has been going on. A small public is gathering around him, unsolicited. Its various groups know his compositions, and look forward to each new one. They compare his works, and discover "tendencies." They pull him apart and put him together. They measure him up and down with every kind of æsthetic yardstick. He becomes aware of an ever-growing audience which is convinced that he can successfully translate his inner impulses, an audience, moreover, which is con-

cerned about the qualities of those impulses. How strong and how many are they? Is he of national significance or only local? Will he grow, or is he only "a flash in the pan?"

He discovers that these ten years of apprenticeship have brought him to the threshold of a new age—his creative manhood. Now he must meet, and grapple with, the problems of that new creative manhood.

How can he go on creating uncompromisingly and survive economically? How can he achieve that coördinated character, that spiritual calm, in which the richest veins of his creative impulses can be developed into a vast organism of varying moods and intensities? How can he maintain a balance between that gambler's nonchalance which engenders creative daring and that craftsman's concern which insures coherence? How can he achieve the right balance between work and play, between toiling and loafing, between a strong sense of social responsibility and a sense of humor about himself and even his generation and his people? How can he guard that seclusion in which alone it is possible to live vitally and to digest new experience, and yet avoid being driven into a sullen isolation by prying eyes and obsequious tongues? These and numberless minor problems must be met and solved without too much fuss, in the stride of a workaday life. The fever of being recognized as worthy of consideration must expand into warm purpose, a purpose of such quality and constancy that it will be neither deflected nor broken up by the heterogeneous machinery of a professional career. If all these adjustments cannot finally be made, the composer will never achieve that confident placidity which welcomes time as a means for creative expansion, which radiates assurance to all those who know him, and attracts around him the people and resources that constitute a homogeneous sustaining environment.

If all these qualities and all this experience are given to a composer before he is too old, if he can run the gauntlet of all these problems and emerge with mind, body, and spirit intact, he has a good chance of creating music that will be true to his race, to his time, to himself. On his ultimate stature will depend whether he represents a small community, a nation, or mankind.

NOTES ON A HAYDN AUTOGRAPH

By W. OLIVER STRUNK

WRITING in the Report of the Librarian of Congress for 1933, the Chief of the Music Division announces the purchase, by the Library, of a hitherto unknown Haydn autograph, the original manuscript of a piano sonata in E-flat major.



No piano work of Haydn's is more often played or more generally admired; few have received less attention from his biographers. The little we know about it goes no further than the plain facts of its publication, and these can be summed up in very few words. The sonata appeared in two "original" editions—one published by Artaria & Co. of Vienna in December 1798, another published by Longman, Clementi & Co. of London sometime between October 1799 and January 1800. Artaria's edition is dedicated to a Viennese pianist, Fräulein von Kurzböck; the title-page of Longman's edition describes the work as composed "expressly" for Mrs. Bartolozzi, a London amateur. The evidence admits two interpretations. On the one hand is the dedication to Fräulein von Kurzböck, suggesting composition in Vienna; on the other hand is the dedication to Mrs. Bartolozzi, suggesting composition in London. How is this apparent contradiction to be explained? To whom did Haydn really dedicate the sonata? Does it belong among works written before, or after his departure from London in August 1795? When, where, and under what circumstances was it actually composed?

The Library's manuscript not only answers these questions, but clears up for all time certain puzzling entries in Haydn's list of his compositions for England, pointing the way to a logical and satisfying solution of the problem in chronology presented by his last works for the piano. Time and place of composition are precisely indicated in the autograph, which is inscribed: "Londra 794." The pianist for whose use the sonata was intended is also

specified, but her name is neither Kurzböck nor Bartolozzi. The manuscript is headed: "Sonata composta per la celebre signora Teresa de Janson."

The name "Jansen" (so spelled) is not altogether new to Haydn literature. It occurs among names of London pianists in the diary of the first English visit. It occurs again among names of London publishers and patrons in the list of compositions that formed part of one of the two diaries of the second visit. Thinly disguised, it occurs a third time among entries for June 4, 1807, in Dies's *Nachrichten*.¹

Except for these few brief appearances, Therese Jansen is a stranger to the musical scene. We know only that Haydn met her in London during his first visit, that he renewed her acquaintance in London during his second visit, and that he remembered her and spoke of her in Vienna ten to fifteen years later. Though he considered her a brilliant performer, she seems never to have appeared in public. She is not mentioned in Haydn's correspondence; she is not mentioned in Doane's *Musical Directory* (1794), which purports to list the names and addresses of a number of London amateurs; she is not mentioned in any biographical dictionary of musicians. So far as musical biography is concerned, she is an unknown quantity and would no doubt remain so, had she not become the daughter-in-law of a very distinguished artist and the mother of an equally distinguished actress. Miss Jansen and Mrs. Bartolozzi are the same person, and Mrs. Bartolozzi, the mother of Madame Vestris, was the wife, not of Francesco Bartolozzi, as Haydn biography has always supposed, but of his son Gaetano.

¹The anecdote in connection with which it is here introduced was evidently a favorite of Haydn's; Dies heard the story from him more than once. It concerns a German violinist, an amateur with the technic of a professional and a singular weakness for losing himself in the higher altitudes near the bridge, a weakness of which Haydn was resolved to cure him.

"This amateur," says Dies, "often visited a Miss J**, a pianist of considerable ability with whom he was in the habit of playing. Without saying a word to anyone, Haydn composed a sonata for piano and violin, called it 'Jacob's Dream,' and sent it through trusted hands, sealed and unsigned, to Miss J**, who did not wait long before trying over the sonata—to all appearances an easy one—with her friend. What Haydn had foreseen then came to pass; the amateur broke down on the high notes, where the passage-work was overloaded. Miss J**, guessing that the unknown author had had Jacob's ladder in mind, no sooner noticed how her partner was climbing up and down—now awkwardly and unsteadily, now reeling and skipping—than she was so diverted by the business that she could no longer conceal her amusement. The amateur meanwhile cursed the composer and confidently asserted that he knew nothing about writing for the violin.

"Five or six months later, when the authorship of the sonata came to light, Miss J** rewarded Haydn with a present."

Elssler's catalogue of Haydn's library (British Museum, MS. Add. 92,070) lists among the "Geschriebene Musicalien": Jacob's Dream, ein Allegro fürs Pianoforte.

Haydn's biographers give us only a bare outline. To fill it in, we must turn to the biographers of Bartolozzi and Vestris. Tuer and Pearce² supply the essential details. But the best informed and most helpful of all the writers who have mentioned Therese Jansen is the author of an anonymous pamphlet published in London in 1839: *Memoirs of the Life, Public and Private Adventures of Madame Vestris*.³ This writer describes himself as "a near relative"; what he has to say I shall quote in his own words, filling in the gaps in his narrative with information derived from other sources.

* * *

Mademoiselle Therese Jansen was the daughter of M. Jansen, the first dancing master of his age in Germany, his native land. He was brought to this country by Earl Spencer and Lord Mulgrave, under whose patronage Miss Jansen likewise immediately began teaching that beautiful and graceful art. Several of the very highest families benefitted by her instructions, and she was eminently successful; so much so, indeed, that she and her brother, Mr. L. Jansen (who taught dancing only because he was bred to it by parental authority—music being his decided forte), realized rather more than two thousand pounds per annum. They resided at No. 14, Great Marlborough-street, and they were both musical pupils of the immortal Clementi.

Tuer supplies the probable place and approximate date of Therese's birth: the elder Jansen came to England from Aix-la-Chapelle, and since Therese was 73 at the time of her death in Calais in 1843, she must have been born about 1770. As to her studies with Clementi, Tuer's claim that she had the reputation of being the best of his school is supported by Bertini,⁴ who names her as one of Clementi's three most distinguished pupils, with Cramer and Field. Clementi's Opus 33, a set of three piano-trios published about 1795, was dedicated to her; Dussek honored her

²A. W. Tuer, *Bartolozzi and His Works* (2 vols., London, 1882); C. E. Pearce, *Madame Vestris and Her Times* (London, 1923).

³Pearce (*op. cit.*, pp. 38-39) calls this a "considerably bowdlerized" edition of a pamphlet published without printer's name in 1830. Other anonymous "memoirs" were published in London without date by John Duncombe and William Chubb, and in New York "at 107 Fulton Street" in 1838. As sources for the biography of Therese Jansen these earlier pamphlets have little to recommend them: they do not mention her by name, they misstate her relationship to Francesco Bartolozzi, and they give the place and date of her marriage, and of her daughter's birth, incorrectly, if at all. Mr. G. Wallace Woodworth, of the Division of Music, Harvard University, has kindly compared for me the Harvard copies of the London "memoirs," and I am indebted to him for information regarding the differences between them.

⁴*Dizionario storico-critico* (Palermo, 1814-15), II, 73; see also Max Unger, *Muzio Clementis Leben* (Langensalza, 1914), p. 111.

in 1793 with the dedication of his Opus 13, a set of three sonatas for piano and violin, and again in 1800 with the dedication of his Opus 43, a "grand" sonata for the piano alone. Therese Jansen-Bartolozzi was evidently a person of considerable prominence in the musical world of Haydn's day, a pianist who enjoyed the friendship and respect of the leading composers for her instrument.

Her brother Louis began his career as a composer in 1793 with the publication of three piano-sonatas (Op. 1) and eighteen "favorite" minuets; his Opus 6, a "grand" piano-sonata published about 1802, was dedicated to his sister. In later life his talents seem to have been chiefly applied to the production of military and patriotic piano-pieces.⁵ An obituary notice in the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* for November 19, 1840, supplies a few further details.

Louis Charles Jansen, born at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1774, brother of Mrs. Bartolozzi—widow [sic] of the celebrated engraver of that name, and uncle of Madame Vestris—for years an ornament to the musical profession, has just died in a poorhouse in Northumberland Street, Marylebone. This man, whose compositions endeared him to artist and amateur alike, who had the honor of dining with George IV when he was still Prince of Wales, was supported during his last days by public charity.

Before introducing the mother of his heroine, the author of the *Memoirs* has this to say about her father.

Sir F. Bartolozzi's only offspring, G. Bartolozzi, was born at Rome, and had come to England with his father. His mother was never in this country. At first he followed the occupation of his father; but, not being able to endure confinement, he at length became a picture-dealer and general trader in everything that might present itself in his various journeys to and from Italy. Indeed he was so very successful that in a few years he accumulated an independent fortune and purchased an estate at Venice, with a country residence about fifty miles distant from that celebrated city. . . . Signor Bartolozzi was a very fine violin and tenor player and could boast of having introduced into this country the very first double-bass player in the world—Signor Dragonetti, the very prop of the Italian Opera House.

To make this sketch complete I need only add that Gaetano Bartolozzi was born in 1757 and that he was away on one of his periodic visits to the Continent during the early part of Haydn's second stay in England.⁶ Traveling in company with his fellow

⁵The Library of Congress has copies of "Buonaparte's Defeat," "The Siege of Bajados," "The Grand Battle of Waterloo," and "The Surrender of Paris."

⁶G. B. Cimador, letter of October 14, 1794 (Heyer sale, 1927, No. 414).

Venetians Bianchi and Dragonetti, he had only just returned to London when he met the young woman who was to become his wife.

The scene of this meeting, which took place early in 1795, was a musical party at Colonel Hamilton's,⁷ and if we follow the author of the *Memoirs* the proposed match proved immediately acceptable to all concerned. Bartolozzi had originally planned to return at once to Italy; now he changed his mind and took a small house at Northend, near Walham Green. The couple were married at St. James's Church, Piccadilly; the date of the ceremony was May 16, 1795;⁸ the witnesses were Charlotte Jansen, Francesco Bartolozzi, a certain Maria Adelaide de las Heras, and⁹ Haydn himself. Through the kindness of the late Professor J. William Hebel, of Cornell University, I am able to reproduce in facsimile the signatures to the entry in the parish register.

After spending the honeymoon at the Star and Garter, at Richmond, the bride and bridegroom went to their residence at Northend, where they resided for some time. Here Mrs. Bartolozzi suffered a double miscarriage. In less than twelve months they removed to the upper part of the house of Mr. Wetherell, upholsterer, No. 72 Dean-street, Soho, where our hero [Madame Vestris] was born in the year 1797.

During the month following this event, which occurred on May 2,¹⁰ Bartolozzi took steps to wind up his affairs in London with a view to leaving for the Continent with his wife and daughter. An advertisement of Christie's, first published in *The Times* for June 10, gives us the approximate date of their departure.

⁷In Leicester Street, Leicester Square. The author of the *Memoirs* speaks of Colonel Hamilton's "pugilistic notoriety." J. T. Smith, in *Nollekens and His Times* (London, 1828), recalls having seen him spar with Mendoza in his drawing-room. On September 29, 1790, when Humphreys and Mendoza fought at Doncaster, Colonel Hamilton acted as umpire. This "gentleman pugilist" was also an amateur musician. Smith tells of a visit he paid, with Nollekens, to Gainsborough. "The artist was listening to a violin, and held up his finger to Mr. Nollekens as a request of silence. Colonel Hamilton was playing to him in so exquisite a style that Gainsborough exclaimed: 'Now, my dear Colonel, if you will but go on, I will give you that picture of the boy at the stile which you have so often wished to purchase of me.' . . . As Gainsborough's versatile fancy was at this period devoted to music, his attention was so riveted to the tones of the violin that for nearly half an hour he was motionless, after which the Colonel requested that a hackney-coach might be sent for, wherein he carried off the picture."

⁸*The Sun*, May 23, 1795.

⁹Pohl, III, 55. Unless Bartolozzi refers to his marriage in the letter in which he informs Artaria that Corri & Dussek have published the "Apponyi" quartets (Pohl, III, 309), it is difficult to understand how Botstiber, knowing neither the date of the ceremony nor the name of the bride, learned of Haydn's connection with it.

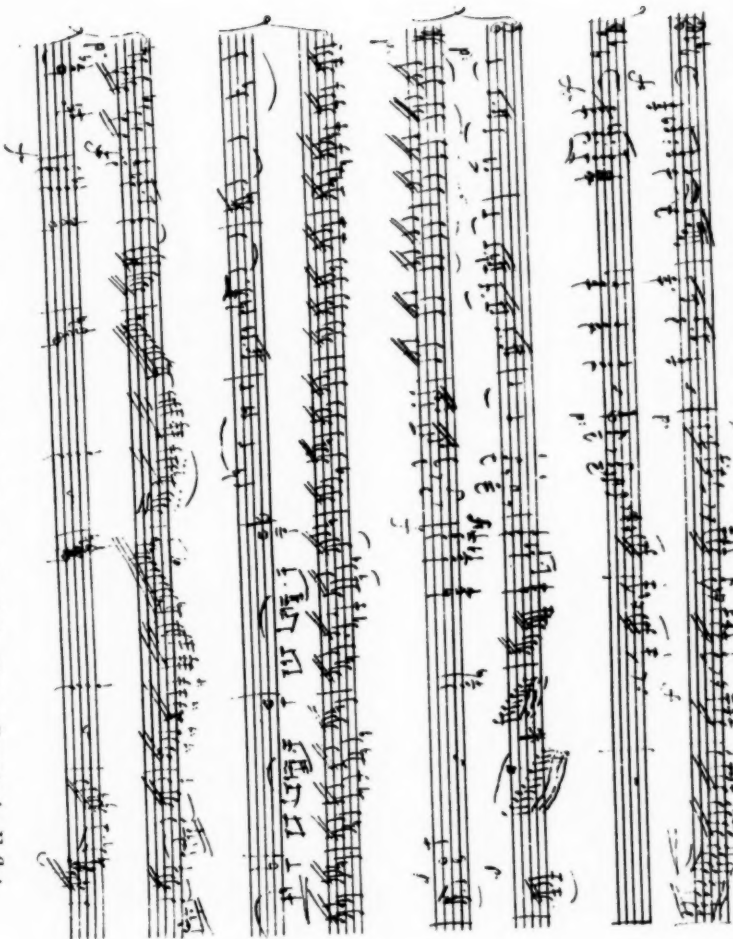
¹⁰G. P. Laurie, *Sir Peter Laurie: a Family Memoir* (Brentwood, 1901), p. 152.

Composita per la Cattedrale di Santa Maria
in Ardeione.

per l'Orchestra

di Giuseppe Haydn

Haydn



Facsimile of the First Page in Haydn's Autograph of the Piano Sonata in E flat.

(By Courtesy of the Library of Congress.)

Gaetano Bartolozzi Therese Jansen
In the presence of Joseph Haydn
Charlotte Jansen Francis Bartolozzi
Maria Adelaide de la Cruz

Signatures in the Parish-Register Entry of the Marriage of Gaetano Bartolozzi and Therese Jansen,
Showing Haydn's Signature Among the Names of the Witnesses.

(See p. 190)

CAPITAL PRINTS, DRAWINGS, AND COPPER PLATES

By MR. CHRISTIE

AT HIS GREAT ROOM, PALL-MALL, ON FRIDAY, THE 23 INST. AT 12

The genuine and entire STOCK of capital and valuable Prints, Drawings, and Copper-plates, some of which have never been published, and a few pleasing Cabinet Pictures, the property of G. BARTOLOZZI, retiring from business: Comprising an extensive assemblage of prints, of the finest impressions, drawings by Cipriani and Bartolozzi, and among the plates, a capital engraving in strokes, after the celebrated picture of the Madonna del Sacco, of A. del Sarto, at Florence, by Bartolozzi, lately finished, and which may be truly deemed the finest plate ever executed by that artist. To be viewed two days preceding the Sale. Catalogues may be had in Pall-Mall; and at the Rainbow.

According to the author of the *Memoirs*, the Bartolozzis, after leaving London, went first to Paris.

From the capital of France, Mr. Bartolozzi proceeded to Vienna to prepare for the reception of his wife, whom he left under the care of a friend of the Jansen family, the Marquis del Campo, ambassador to the Court of England from the King of Naples. In due time Mrs. Bartolozzi joined her husband at Vienna; and the family, soon after, going to Venice, remained there until the ravages of the French army . . . had deprived Bartolozzi of his estates and forced him to return to England.¹¹

A "card" printed in *The Times* for January 8, 1800, gives us the approximate date of this return.

Mr. Bartolozzi, jun., respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen who have formerly honored him with their patronage and recommendation, that being now returned from Italy, he means to resume giving Lessons in Drawing.

From this "card" and from Christie's advertisement it is clear that Bartolozzi and his family spent not more than two years and a half on the Continent. At some time during these two years and a half they were in Vienna. Allowing six months to a year for Mrs. Bartolozzi's stay in Paris, we may place her arrival in Vienna late in 1798 or early in 1799. Whatever the date, she was very probably there when her husband's old friend Dragonetti, passing through Vienna on his way to Italy in the spring of 1799, visited Haydn and saw the score of the *Creation*.¹² And it cannot

¹¹Marquis Bernardo del Campo, mentioned in the diary of Haydn's first London visit, was the Spanish (not Neapolitan) ambassador to London. By October 5, 1796, when his government declared war on England, he had left London for Paris, where he had charge of Spanish interests until the appointment of Azara in 1798. The French occupation of Venice, which left Bartolozzi's countrymen "without a zechino," as the author of the *Memoirs* has it, began on May 17, 1797. When General d'Hilliers withdrew his troops on January 18, 1798, the Bartolozzis were probably still *en route*.

¹²Pohl, in *Grove's Dictionary* (3d ed., 1927-28), II, 92.

have been long after this that Bartolozzi ordered from Haydn his copy of the score: the list of subscribers printed with the first edition in February 1800 includes the name "Bartolozzi, Junior," without address.

Unquestionably there is a connection between Mrs. Bartolozzi's visit to Vienna, the publication there of the sonata Haydn wrote for her, and the subsequent publication of the sonata in London. Assuming, as I think we may, that Mrs. Bartolozzi at first controlled all publication rights in the work,¹³ we can easily guess what happened. The simplest explanation is that Mrs. Bartolozzi (or her husband acting for her) ceded her Continental rights to Artaria or to Haydn himself, directing her London agents to forestall unauthorized English reprints by bringing out an independent edition at once. But it is also possible that the Vienna edition was itself unauthorized¹⁴ and that Mrs. Bartolozzi, learning of its existence, took steps to protect her English rights.

In any case, publication in London occurred during Mrs. Bartolozzi's absence, for on October 29, 1799, Longman announced: "In a few days will be published, a new sonata for the Piano Forte, by Dr. Haydn."¹⁵ The interesting thing is that the Vienna edition appears to have followed an inaccurate copy of the autograph, while the London edition was obviously engraved by someone who had Haydn's original before him. The manuscript still shows the red-crayon marks that Longman's engraver made in "laying out" the plates, and the blank page that follows the slow movement in the autograph is actually reproduced in Longman's edition, the foot of the preceding plate being marked "Page 13 blank"!

Having brought the Bartolozzis back to London, the author of the *Memoirs* goes on to speak of the domestic arrangements they made on their arrival. His statement that they took apartments in Oxford Street over premises occupied by Peter Laurie is confirmed by Laurie's godson and biographer, who recalls that the Bartolozzis were already living at the Oxford Street address, where

¹³Had Haydn been in a position to release the sonata in 1794, he would presumably not have waited until 1798 to do so. Griesinger's letters to Härtel (Pohl, III, 138-140) throw some light on the real state of affairs. His letter of May 25, 1799, reports that Haydn will try to persuade certain patrons of his to consent to his submitting commissioned works for publication; his letter of June 12, 1799, contains this significant sentence: "Bay [Clementi's agent] is also clamoring for piano sonatas, but he [Haydn] has not yet been able to supply him."

¹⁴In September 1791 Artaria published, without Haydn's permission, the sonata in E-flat written for Marianne von Genzinger.

¹⁵*The Times*; publication is advertised on January 7 and February 28, 1800.

they appeared to have been in residence for some time, when his godfather settled there on May 1, 1801.¹⁶

It is evident, however, that the family did not go directly to Oxford Street on returning to London. Bartolozzi's "card" fills in a gap in the anonymous narrative. For a time—perhaps only for a few months—the family lived at "No. 82 Wells-street, Oxford-street," the address mentioned in *The Times*. When we come to discuss the chronology of Haydn's last works for the piano, this seemingly irrelevant detail will prove significant.

At this point we can afford to part company with the author of the *Memoirs*. What he and other pamphleteers have written about Mrs. Bartolozzi's later life reflects little credit on her and less on them. Her portrait seems not to have been preserved. If her daughters Lucia Elizabeth and Josephine resembled her at all, she must have been very attractive at the time of her marriage. When Haydn knew her she was in her twenties; the one extant account of her personal appearance describes an elderly woman.

In a clever caricature sketch of "Calais Market," by Miss M. A. Cook, sister of George Cook, the well-known engraver, Madame Gaetano Bartolozzi is represented dressed in the costume of the period. She was evidently inclined to corpulence, and wears an enormous bonnet decorated with a prodigious quantity of flowers—a complete flower-garden. She is described as a very vain woman, with highly coloured—her enemies said enamelled—cheeks, who prided herself on the smallness of her feet and ankles. This foible is taken advantage of in the caricature referred to, where she appears with her dress slightly raised, showing an ankle and foot of elephantine proportions.¹⁷

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Had Haydn dedicated only one work to Mrs. Bartolozzi, there would have been reason enough to devote these few pages to establishing her identity; for one thing, her close association with Clementi, hitherto unnoticed by students of Haydn's music, throws a new light on the traces of Clementi's influence that Abert, Shedlock, and other critics have detected in his mature piano-style. But the sonata in E-flat is only one of a number of works that Haydn dedicated to her. From the list of his compositions for England we know that several sonatas were written for "Miss Janson." According to one transcript of the list there were two such works; according to another, three. And in the spring of 1797, nearly two years after his return to Vienna, a set of three piano-trios, dedicated to Mrs. Bartolozzi, was published in Lon-

¹⁶Laurie, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 54.

¹⁷Tuer, *op. cit.*, I, 24.

don by Longman & Broderip. Altogether, Haydn wrote five—possibly six—major works for her, nearly one-third of his last contribution to piano literature. With the sole exception of Princess Marie Esterhazy, wife of Nicholas II, to whom three sonatas and three trios were dedicated, no other woman was so honored.

Haydn's last works for the piano have received relatively little attention from his biographers. Pohl's comment on them is the least satisfactory part of his article for *Grove's Dictionary*. Botstiber, Artaria, and von Hase contribute much that is new without attempting a solution of the problem as a whole. The Library of Congress autograph removes one of the principal difficulties. And the detailed information we have regarding Mrs. Bartolozzi's movements during the nineties enables us to dispose of another: the riddle of the so-called "English" sonata in C. The original edition of this work—"Composed expressly for and Dedicated to Mrs. Bartolozzi, Printed for and to be had of the Proprietor, 82 Wells Street and of the Publisher, J. & H. Caulfield, 36 Piccadilly"—has been variously dated "1791" (Riemann and Päsler) and "1793" (Botstiber).¹⁸ Since it is dedicated to Mrs. Bartolozzi it cannot have been published before May 1795; since it is numbered "Opus 79" it was probably published after Opus 78 (the sonata in E-flat), that is, after October 1799. The address of the "proprietor"—"82 Wells Street"—proves conclusively that the correct year is 1800, and there is no longer any reason to assume, as editors and critics have assumed in the past, that the sonata in C was composed during Haydn's first visit to England.¹⁹

With this difficulty out of the way it becomes possible to raise the question: Did Haydn write any piano music at all during the first London period? Negative evidence indicates that he did not. From December 15, 1790, when he first left Vienna, to January 19, 1794, when he left Vienna for the second time, no new work of his for the piano made its appearance. For the moment, the sonatas, trios, and smaller pieces of 1789 and 1790 claimed the entire attention of his publishers and public. The "new" trio that figures on the program of Salomon's eighth concert was in reality an old one, written in Vienna,²⁰ yet Haydn

¹⁸Franklin Taylor writes in his edition of Haydn's piano sonatas (Augener): "First published in London early in the nineteenth century (the exact date is uncertain)."

¹⁹According to Pohl, who seems to be quoting from the correspondence with Breitkopf & Härtel, Haydn's comment on the sonata was: "Not to be printed." Mrs. Bartolozzi had evidently learned to protect her rights. (*Grove's Dictionary*, 3d ed., II, 575.)

²⁰Peters No. 11; Breitkopf & Härtel No. 24. At this concert, which took place on April 20, 1792, the piano part was played by Hummel, then a boy of thirteen. The title-page of Longman's edition adds "As performed by Master Hummel at M. Salomon's Concert."

refers to it as his most recent (*letzte*) piano sonata in writing to Frau von Genzinger on December 20, 1791. Up to this time, then, he had written nothing new for the piano. The absence of any reference to a new piano work in later letters from London makes it at least unlikely that the last six months of his stay were more fruitful. And, as I shall show presently, Haydn's list of his compositions for England suggests, if it does not prove, that he first returned to the instrument in 1793, on completing the "Apponyi" quartets.

Once we exclude the possibility of Haydn's having begun the composition of his last piano works in London, the problem of arranging them in approximate chronological order becomes relatively simple. A table printed at the end of these notes presents a solution that makes possible an intelligent, critical approach to the music itself. If it differs here and there from the partial solutions previously brought forward, it has at least the positive advantage of agreeing with the most important single document bearing on the question—Haydn's own account of what he wrote for England.

As already intimated, this account formed part of one of the two diaries of the second English visit. It covers the period from January 1791 to August 1795 and, besides enumerating the works themselves, specifies the exact number of leaves required for each manuscript.²¹ From this circumstance one might argue that what we have is no mere list, written down from memory, but an actual record in which works were entered at the time—and in the order—of their composition. This argument is given at least a semblance of plausibility when we compare the order in which the works are set down with the known order as established by dated autographs and other conclusive evidence. The document itself has disappeared. But before its disappearance it was copied independently by two of Haydn's first biographers—Griesinger, who prints a German translation, and Dies, who gives the original English wording.²² In both texts the arrangement of the list is the same, and in both texts the piano works are grouped together,

²¹Where it is possible to verify these "exact" figures, there are always discrepancies between them and the actual specifications of the autographs. The original manuscript of the opera *Orfeo* (1791) fills, not 110 folios, as indicated in Haydn's list, but 132, or without the overture, 121. Some other examples are: the *Symphonie concertante* (1792)—40, not 30 folios; the six "Apponyi" quartets (1793)—99, not 48 folios; the two divertimenti for two flutes and violoncello (1794)—9, not 10 folios; the last three "London" symphonies (1795)—118, not 72 folios.

²²Griesinger's text, printed in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* for August 2, 1809, and reprinted in his *Biographische Notizen* (1810), is followed by Gerber (1812), Pohl (1867), and Botstiber (1927); Dies's text, printed in his *Biographische Nachrichten* (1810), is followed by Carpani (1812) and Stendhal (1814).

as below, between the entry for the "Apponyi" quartets, composed in 1793, and the entry for "Dr. Harrington's Compliment" ("What Art Expresses"), which belongs to the second London period.

<i>Griesinger</i>		<i>Dies</i>	
[9] Drey Sonaten für Broderiep	18 [Blätter]	3 Sonates for Broderip	
[10] Drey Sonaten für Preston	18 "	3 Sonates for P-	
[11] Zwey Sonaten für Miss Janson	10 ²³	3 Sonates for Ms. Janson	
[12] Eine Sonate in F minor	3 "	1 Sonate in F minore	
[13] Eine in g	5 "	1 Sonate in g	
[14] Der Traum	3 "	The Dream	

Unless Dies is right in mentioning three sonatas for "Miss Janson" instead of two, Haydn's list fails to account for the sonata in D, written in England, according to his own statement,²⁴ for "a lady who retained the original manuscript." And unless Dies is right in repeating, as his forty-third and last item, the entry "3 Sonates for Broderip," which Griesinger, who has forty-two items, gives only once, Haydn's list fails to account for the trios dedicated to Mrs. Schroeter, for the first entry must refer to the earlier set published by Longman & Broderip, dedicated to Marie-Anna von Hohenfeld, the Princess Dowager. Where the two texts disagree, a better case can always be made out for Dies than for Griesinger, yet Pohl and Botstiber reprint the Griesinger text without even mentioning the existence of another.

Haydn's reference to a "Sonate in g" presents real difficulty unless we include among the works of the London years a composition which Pohl assigns, with some hesitation, to an earlier period—the sonata in G for piano and violin, first published in 1794.²⁵

A more serious difficulty is the chronological arrangement of the three solo sonatas. Karl Päsler, who edited them for Breitkopf & Härtel's complete edition, inferred the order C, D, E-flat. The incomplete and in part untrustworthy evidence he had left him no alternative. Our position is different; while our information goes further and is more reliable, it does not commit us to any one solution.

We have reason to believe that all three sonatas were written for one person; we infer that they constitute an "opus." We know

²³The Library of Congress autograph alone has ten leaves.

²⁴Hermann von Hase, *Joseph Haydn und Breitkopf & Härtel* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 51.

²⁵The remaining items are identified in my chronological table.

that the sonata in E-flat was composed in 1794; we infer that the sonatas in C and D belong to the same year. We cannot determine the actual order of the three sonatas; we can only suppose it to have been an order consistent with the uniformly progressive character of Haydn's later writing.

External evidence admits half-a-dozen chronological arrangements, internal evidence only one. The first of the three sonatas for "Miss Janson" is in E-flat, the second in D; the sonata in C is at once the last of the series and the last of all Haydn's works for the piano alone.²⁶

What followed was piano chamber-music. Before leaving London Haydn had finished his three trios for Mrs. Schroeter, the last item on his list; Longman published them within a few months after his departure. Next in order is the single trio in E-flat minor, which the autograph dates "1795"; though Haydn does not count it among his English works, Griesinger speaks of it as having been written in London.²⁷ The four remaining trios do not figure in Haydn's list and were evidently written after his return to Vienna. The set dedicated to Mrs. Bartolozzi, published by Longman in May 1797,²⁸ may have been finished as early as June 1796; about this time Haydn signed a new contract with his English agent and from thenceforward sent no more piano music to London.²⁹ The single trio in E-flat major is precisely dated in Haydn's correspondence; on April 16, 1796, he asks Härtel to have more patience with him³⁰ and seven months later, on November 9, sends the promised sonata "at last."³¹

How each of these details contributes to a solution of the whole problem is indicated in my chronological table, which combines with other information the various conclusions and conjectures to which this discussion has led.

²⁶The second movement of the sonata in C is a revision of an earlier work—an Adagio in F, probably composed in Vienna, where it was separately published in June 1794. The last movement breaks with the limitations of the old five-octave keyboard, making repeated use of the so-called "additional keys" which Beethoven introduces for the first time in the "Waldstein" sonata of 1805.

²⁷Pohl, III, 214. Botstiber, in reprinting Haydn's dedication to Madame Moreau, omits the significant date "1er 9bre 1803," from which it follows that priority belongs to Traeg's edition, published in August of that year, and to the dedication to Fräulein von Kurzbück.

²⁸*The Monthly Magazine and British Register*, III (1797), 388.

²⁹Griesinger, letter of June 12, 1799 (Pohl, III, 139-140).

³⁰Hase, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

³¹Julien Tiersot prints the full text of this second letter in *Rivista musicale italiana*, XVII (1910), 372-373, and in his *Lettres de musiciens* (Turin, 1924), pp. 72-73; von Hase, without Haydn's original before him, dates it "Ende des Jahres 1795."

HAYDN'S LAST WORKS

No.	Work	Dedication	Place and Date of Composition
1	Variations in F minor	Barbara Ployer Baroness von Braun	Vienna, 1793 <i>Autograph:</i> Vienna, Nationalbibliothek; New York Public Library
2	Sonata in G, with violin	None	Vienna? 1793?
3	3 Trios in A, G minor, and B-flat, with violin and violoncello	Marie-Anna von Hohenfeld, Princess Esterhazy	Vienna? 1793?
4	3 Trios in C, D minor, and E-flat, with violin and violoncello	Marie von Liechtenstein, Princess Esterhazy	Vienna? 1793?
5	Sonata in E-flat	Therese Jansen-Bartolozzi Magdalene von Kurzböck	London, 1794 <i>Autograph:</i> Washington, Library of Congress
6	Sonata in D	Therese Jansen-Bartolozzi?	London, 1794?
7	Sonata in C	Therese Jansen-Bartolozzi	London? 1794? Adagio: Vienna? 1793?
8	"Jacob's Dream," sonata with violin		London, 1794?
9	3 Trios in D, G, and F-sharp minor, with violin and violoncello	Mrs. Schroeter	London? 1795?
10	Trio in E-flat minor, with violin and violoncello	Magdalene von Kurzböck Madame Moreau	London, 1795 <i>Autograph:</i> Liepman'ssohn, <i>Versteigerungskatalog</i> 62 (1932) No. 32
11	3 Trios in C, E, and E-flat, with violin and violoncello	Therese Jansen-Bartolozzi	Vienna? 1796?
12	Trio in E-flat, with violin and violoncello	None	Vienna, 1796 <i>Autograph:</i> Lengfeld., <i>Katalog</i> 42 (1932), No. 394 (Fragment)

²²Dates of publication are based on Artaria-Botstiber and other sources, and on contemporary advertisements. References in columns 7 and 8 are to the Peters and Breitkopf & Härtel editions of the smaller piano pieces, piano and violin sonatas, piano

FOR THE PIANO³²

London Edition	Continental Edition	Peters	Breitkopf	Haydn's List
Clementi, April 1802	Artaria (Op. 83), Jan. 1799	1	1	1 Sonate in F minore
	Artaria (Op. 70), June 1794	1	6	1 Sonate in g
Longman & Broderip (Op. 70), Nov. 1794	Artaria (Op. 71), July 1795	13, 17, 9	7, 14, 13	3 Sonates for Broderip
Preston (Op. 71), between Nov. 1794 and Oct. 1795	Artaria (Op. 72), end of 1795	21, 22, 23	18, 19, 20	3 Sonates for Preston
Longman, Clementi (Op. 78), between Oct. 1799 and Jan. 1800	Artaria (Op. 82), Dec. 1798	1	1 (52)	Sonate for Miss Janson
	Breitkopf & Härtel (Op. 93), Dec. 1804	32	37 (51)	Sonate for Miss Janson
Caulfield (Op. 79), 1800	None Adagio: Artaria, June 1794		22 (50)	Sonate for Miss Janson
None	None			The Dream
Longman & Broderip (Op. 73), Jan. 1796	Artaria (Op. 75), beginning of 1796	6, 1, 2	6, 1, 2	3 Sonates for Broderip
	Traeg (Op. 101), Aug. 1803	18	15	
Longman & Broderip (Op. 75), May 1797	Artaria (Op. 78), Oct. 1797	3, 4, 5,	3, 4, 5	
	Artaria (Op. 79), Oct. 1797	8	12	

sonatas, and piano trios, and (in parentheses) to the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe*. In Augener's edition of the complete piano works (Riemann) the sonatas in E-flat, D, and C are numbered 38, 23, and 35.

DÉODAT DE SÉVERAC

By PAUL LANDORMY

THE connecting link between Debussy and Honegger is furnished by Maurice Ravel, Albert Roussel, Déodat de Séverac, and Florent Schmitt, all members of one generation. They mark both the dividing line and the transition between the art of half-tints, of shadow, of vaporous envelopment, that we know as Debussy's, and the rough, fresh, vigorous art—designed primarily for exterior effect—of the original "Six" and their multiples. Each of the older men contributes, in his own way, to the decline of impressionism. Each announces—perhaps against his will—the advent of Honegger, Darius Milhaud, Poulenc, and their liegemen.

Ravel, Roussel, and Florent Schmitt, have won universal reputations. Déodat de Séverac is less known, but undeservedly so. Among musicians there is none more seductive, none better able to stir the heart and the imagination. But he wrote little for orchestra or the stage, and his most remarkable works, excepting some few songs, are piano pieces. Thus the audience to which he addressed himself is a limited one. And he died too young.

It is my aim to place him where he of right belongs and to do justice to the high quality of his music.¹

All who came in contact with Déodat de Séverac are in agreement on the impression he made. They found in him a sensitive heart, a very good and very generous one. They saw in him a dreamer, absent-minded, living only in the music which he composed in immediate contact with Nature, directly inspired by her and by the myriad sounds, the myriad songs, that she gives forth. He was a son of the countryside, attached to his little corner of a province, to his Roussillon,² never detaching himself from it without distress or returning to it without joy, living there the greater part of his existence, and conceiving art only in an intimate communion with the spirit of his closer fatherland. He was an improviser with a surprising wealth of invention, and composed infinitely more than he wrote out. One of his friends relates: "The

¹For anyone desiring to make a closer study of Déodat de Séverac, the basic work to be consulted is that by Blanche Selva, the well-known pianist, who was his friend and knew him intimately. She has written an extremely perspicacious volume on him. (Publ. by Delagrave, Paris.)

²A province of Southern France, bordering on the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees.

very year of his death, Séverac played me an entire Suite equal in importance to *Cerdaña* and superior in beauty, which had not been written down and which he has carried away with him." Many another work, no doubt, lived only in the fruitful imagination of its author, who never took the trouble to set it down on paper.

For him, to compose was the chief of all pleasures—one might say, the continual pleasure: he never ceased dreaming of some music.

A man of delicacy, who nevertheless remained close to the common people, he was able to write music that gave Debussy infinite delight, and that, at the same time, could appeal to an unsophisticated public. He loved the people, he loved to be among the peasants and workingmen of the region and to talk with them. And they, in turn, loved him well. His reputation had established itself even among the poorest of the poor, and his death spread mourning throughout Roussillon.

When he came to Paris he was out of his element. At the rehearsals of the *Cœur du Moulin* at the Opéra-Comique he was bored and seemed absent-minded to such a degree that the orchestra players said: "Impossible! He's not the man who wrote the music; he doesn't look as if he knew how to."

He has been likened to the kindly La Fontaine in his love for Nature and poor folk, living much of the time in his dreams, and seemingly lost upon his return to earth and the world of men. But he could occasionally prove himself, on the one hand, full of fun, highly amusing, a great joker; and, on the other, capable of taking part with enthusiasm in grand collective waves of earnest, virile sentiment. For example, a procession that was to parade through the streets in the evening, led by a music-corps, was organized in his village on the day of the Armistice. But the meagre municipal band was in difficulties. The young men were not there, but at the front, and the old men were too few. A bass was lacking. Déodat laid hold of the immense tuba and fell into step. He blew and blew like mad while he marched all about town, dressed in his old soldier coat from before the war, his police cap aslant, his heart rejoicing. . . .

* * *

The de Séverac family is one of the oldest in France. It is descended, so the story goes, from a lieutenant of Cæsar named Severus. Its origins are interlinked with the royal house of

Aragon. The Séveracs have been settled in Languedoc since the ninth century. The musician's great-grandfather was Minister of Marine under Louis XVI.

Yet all this did not prevent Déodat de Séverac from being simplicity itself. By his attire and manners alone, he could have been taken for a petty provincial bourgeois.

He was born on July 20, 1873, at Saint-Félix de Lauragais. After completing his academic studies at the Collège de Sorrèze, he took up the study of law at Toulouse, but soon abandoned it to acquire musical training at the Conservatoire of that city (1893-1896). In 1896 he entered the Conservatoire at Paris, but remained there only a few months, after which he was to be found in the Schola Cantorum. He was drawn there through the perspicacity of Charles Bordes. In point of fact, Bordes wrote to Paul Poujaud: "I have just discovered an exceptional youth, presented by Doctor Boyer of the Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais—a mere boy, scion of village nobility, natural, unsophisticated and wide-awake, a real thoroughbred, a musician to his fingertips, artist, poet—a figure out of a pastoral play. You shall see—and, like me, you will love him."

From 1896 to 1907, a full ten years, de Séverac studied composition under Vincent d'Indy. On the organ, he was a pupil of Guilmant; in counterpoint, of Magnard. Bordes entrusted him with choral rehearsals for performances of works by Palestrina.

In 1897, he was subjected to a sore trial by the loss, within a few months, of both his father and his young sister Marthe. Out of the sad memory of their deaths was born, some years afterwards, the exquisite *Coin de cimetière au printemps*.

At the Schola, Déodat learned the techniques of orchestral instruments, passing successively through the classes for oboe, horn, trumpet, flute, clarinet, etc.

He tried his hand at criticism in the *Renaissance Latine*, the *Messenger de Toulouse*, and *L'Occident*. He attended the important concerts, especially those of Charles Lamoureux. He applauded *Pelléas*, *Boris*, *L'Étranger*. He was captivated by the charm of Fauré.

Octave Maus, the astute director of the *Libre Esthétique* at Brussels, procured the first performance, in 1902, of the *Chant de la Terre* which brought the young composer into notice.

All the greater cities, such as Paris and Brussels, pleased Déodat only indifferently. He dreamt of his homeland, of Saint-Félix. He remained a man of the soil. His gaze, at once clear and profound, his complexion bronzed by the sun, his frequently dreamy

mien, were not those of a city-bred man. He talked but little. He indulged himself in an "indolence teeming with memories and landscapes," smiling happily over his inner visions. And when he returned to Roussillon during vacation, what joy he found in undertaking long rambles on foot, making no plans beforehand, finding shelter in any wayside inn or in the home of some friend—who was never warned of the visit. How long would he stay? One day, two days, a week? He did not know. One fine morning, without an hour's notice, he would take his departure, but always leaving something behind. He did not go alone. On these improvised trips he always took along a companion, like himself gay, clear-eyed, sure-footed.

The hour finally struck for his departure from Paris, *la grand'ville*. What a deliverance! His studies at the Schola were finished. As a valedictory to his class he offered, in June, 1907, a short dissertation on *Centralisation et les petites chapelles en musique*. A curious thesis, to be sure! In it he sought to demonstrate the necessity for a return to the soil, to the sun, to light, to the paternal roof-tree. He declared war against the artistic life as conceived in Paris, against her feverish atmosphere, and most of all against the coteries and cliques. For his part he cared to be neither a *verticaliste* nor a *horizontaliste* as the period knew them. He had no inclination to choose between Debussy and d'Indy. He admired beauty wherever he found it, whatever its source, without prejudice. And he had the courage to point out the ill-directed zeal and short-sighted intelligence of not a few disciples of his teacher d'Indy, as well as—in all fairness—the narrow-mindedness and blindness of the disciples of Debussy.

Architecture [he wrote] is merely a means. To make it the reason for or the end of a work strikes me as a mistake quite as grievous as that of the "progressives" who treat it too cavalierly. . . . The cyclic theme (dear to the followers of d'Indy) generally appears like the subject of a doctoral thesis in the mathematical sciences, admirably handled withal—and with a plastic treatment equally cerebral. The "progressives" evince a too exclusive tendency for play, the others place too much faith in *theorems* and *purity*. The former hug themselves when they have succeeded in balancing on a needlepoint tones that usually get entangled. The latter feel that they have accomplished a duty when they succeed in causing to "flirt" with each other themes that have no inclination to do so.

Déodat de Séverac thus succinctly declared his independence and refused to affiliate himself with any school, with any coterie, with any group. He had received the instruction of the Schola. He proposed to profit freely by it.

And so he fled to the country.

"The laborers have again begun their slow, sweeping motions behind the docile oxen.³ The Pyrenees are alight with pale iris and diamonds. At dawn, Mount Canigou winks his eye at the rising sun. . . . As for myself, I work on slowly and without malice."

"Without malice." How finely expressed! This independent spirit, this heart so free and generous, found no room for an art arbitrarily bounded by latent hostilities. Unlike so many others, he felt no desire to make music "in despite of someone."

The year 1909 was that of the first representation of the *Cœur du Moulin* at the Opéra-Comique. It met with a success hailed by such critics as Carraud, Lalo, and Bruneau, and above all by the peculiarly penetrating and sympathetic review of Gabriel Fauré.

Then came the publication of his compositions for piano, *Baigneuses au Soleil* and *Cerdaña*, with their wealth of fantasy and color. He was working on a lyric drama entitled *Les Antibel*, after a romance by Pouvillon, the libretto arranged by his friend Marc Lafargue. He was also engaged on his *Vendanges* for piano and orchestra, and on *Méditerranée*, a grand symphony that he dreamed of staging with choruses and dances. But these works were borne within his brain, nothing was committed to paper, nor was anything found after his death.

In 1910, Déodat de Séverac brought out *Héliogabale*, a *tragédie lyrique*, at the Arena in Béziers, the orchestra reinforced by the rustic instruments of the Catalanian "Cobla," whose rude, acrid, tart, thrilling sonorities aroused the enthusiasm of Fauré and Pierre Lalo. Alfred Bruneau wrote concerning it: "A work of truly admirable grandeur, nobility, and simplicity. Every one of its teeming and finished pages possesses, together with logic and precision, a singular expressive force."

In 1912, his music to Verhaeren's *Hélène de Sparte* was performed at Paris.

During the war of 1914, Déodat, in spite of ill health, sought to take part as a combattant. He was refused enrollment except as a hospital attendant. He fell ill himself while tending the sick, and was a sufferer until 1918. He composed very little, but continually dreamed his music. He attempted to revise the works he had already produced. He criticizes himself: "In *Cerdaña*, as in all my works, some developments are too long, there are useless dalliings. . . . I am trying to condense." He makes plans, he has visions of the future. But the poor artist had only a short

³In Déodat's countryside, agricultural machines were unknown. The methods of an earlier time were still in vogue.

time to live. He passed away in 1921, mourned by all his friends, by all who had known him or met him, by all the little town where he had lived, by all that region in the *Midi* where he had become celebrated and popular.

Déodat belonged first and last to his homeland. He loved it deeply and expressed it marvellously. He loved the *serdaña*,⁴ the Catalan *cobla*, all music and dancing in the open air. Blanche Selva, who knew him well and is one of the best interpreters of his music, says in this connection:

Déodat loved certain things that are not beautiful music, that are not works of art. He liked the *flonflons* of the vulgar brasses and the rataplan of the drums . . . the sonorous click-clack of the mechanical pianos, the old-fangled acidity of the music-boxes, and the cracked and dissonant voices of old pianos abandoned to incompetent fingers and pitiless hearts . . . Déodat even enjoyed the equivocal exuberance of the sentimental phrases that the poor needy fiddlers parade abjectly or shamelessly before indifferent toppers seated in garish cafés. [And she concludes with this judicious remark:] And it was because the heart of Séverac, good and compassionate, truly humane, was touched athwart this musical bric-à-brac . . . that the sensitivity of the true artist discovered, underneath the visible ugliness of these poor, despised objects, hints of the true beauty they might hide within.

* * *

Although he was a pupil of Vincent d'Indy, there is no marked trace of the spirit of either d'Indy or Franck in the works of Déodat de Séverac.

Séverac is not a mystic, not even a romanticist. Neither is he a constructor of grand musical edifices, amply developed. He hardly ever employs all the resources of counterpoint and polyphony. He never wrote a Symphony. In his Suites for piano—*Le Chant de la Terre*, *En Languedoc*, *Cerdaña*—which are his most striking compositions and suffice to characterize him—what do we find? A strongly pronounced responsiveness to Nature, a penetrating perfume of the soil, charm, tenderness, and above all a definite leaning towards effects of light and color. Herein his procedures sometimes resemble those of Debussy and his disciples. But, all the same, this music differs profoundly from that of Debussy by the predominance of a very sustained melodic line which is vividly prominent throughout. Déodat de Séverac is the singer of the *Midi*, whose voice must find expression in broad phrases in order to give utterance to all the full-throated eloquence of which it is capable.

⁴A dance very popular in the Cerdagne (the land on the slopes of the Pyrenees) and in Catalonia.

Listen to his *Chant de la Terre* for piano, wherein he portrays Labor, Seedtime, the Hailstorm, the Harvest, with a Prologue (*L'Ame de la Terre*), an Interlude (*Conte à la Veillée*), and an Epilogue (*Le Jour des Noces*), and you will recognize therein the soul of the peasant, his clinging attachment to the soil, his hard-earned delight in the daily round of toil, his cares, his beliefs, his reverent attitude towards the great mysteries of life, his rough gayety on festival days.

The Suite for piano, *En Languedoc*, includes three numbers that should find a place in the repertory of every pianist: *Vers le mas en fête*, *Coin de cimetière au printemps*, *À cheval dans la prairie*. The extraordinary descriptive faculty, which is the essence of Déodat de Séverac, is displayed with the full intensity of his talent for evocation. In *Vers le mas en fête* the ringing and tinkling of bells, the noisy fifes and tambourines, the cries of joy, the clapping of hands and the tapping of feet, mingle and alternate in a racy fantasia, in a scene inundated with dazzling brilliance. And *À Cheval dans la prairie*—what life and movement, what a heart-stirring gallop! The *Cimetière* itself is not mournful; it is cheered by the songs of birds. One feels that the composer enjoys walking or quietly sitting there; that it is a familiar scene of his meditations, where he finds himself in intimate communion with those he loved; that he contemplates it without agonizing grief, with the consolation of an anticipated speedy reunion. It is a corner of his village, like the other corners where life does not yield up its claims. In it, the next-door impinging of the "beyond" assumes a wholly simple and almost friendly aspect.

For small children there is an exquisite collection, *En Vacances*, whose purpose recalls Schumann's *Kinderscenen*, but which is in a totally different style—*à la française*.

One must have listened also to *En Tartane* and to *Les Muletiers devant le Christ de Llivia*, in the Suite *Cerdàña* in order to appreciate the degree to which the artistry of Déodat manifests itself in contrasting moods—now lively, colorful, joyous, sprightly; now wistful, enthusiastic, and powerful.

By reason of his spontaneity, his verve, his brilliance, his diversity, his impressionistic "eye," and, at the same time, by reason of his soulful profundity, Déodat de Séverac deserves to be called "the French Albeniz."

(Translated by Theodore Baker.)

TOWARDS A NEW FORM

By MARC BLITZSTEIN

These facts are to be observed in the musical composition of the last five years:

- The period of experiment in establishing a new language is ended.*
- Three currents are left in the wake of the "Modern Movement"—Primitivist, Classicist, Popularist.*
- The period of experiment in finding an integration for the three trends has just begun.*¹

IT must be clear to everyone by now that composers are no longer testing new materials. The proof can be seen in the fertility of the younger men; unlike the pioneers, they are unhampered by the necessity of inventing a vocabulary while speaking. Not only are Hindemith, Milhaud, Honegger, Beck, and more recently Sauguet, Weill, Křenek, Walton, Markevich, prolific composers; their music shows a waning preoccupation with discoveries, and a waxing tendency to use what is at hand, to rest upon the labors of the pioneers.

In its material, it is a music of summing up, of distillation. The types of rhythm, instrumentation, harmony, counterpoint, and melody, peculiar to the present epoch, have become fixed, ready for use. Rhythm is dedicated to asymmetry. Harmony continues the late-nineteenth-century liberation from the cadence (by evasion and implication, as in the French); it shows either fresh substitutes (in the latest Stravinsky), or a frank and total avoidance (in how many atonalists and others?); harmony also stresses texture—all the way from rich, polytonal, profuse, to clean, "dissonant," bare—rather than direction. But the tide is turning; we now know that an instrument is better exhibited alone in its apposite functions than treated as cement, with a hundred others, in the rearing of however sumptuous an edifice of sound. The new counterpoint aims at linearity rather than verticality, and thereby extends the lapse between meeting-points, engender-

¹Unless we are to keep our mouths shut entirely, the convenient lying which makes categories of alive things must be resorted to. Most of the categories used here are no news to composers; wherever possible, references to them have been qualified by pointing out where a term overstates, where it misses.

ing thus a new species of long breath. As regards melody, there has been little of great significance. What has come through has been extremely personal (the Hindemith-Rilke *Marienleben*, Harris *Concerto*, or Sessions *Sonata*), or declamatory (Copland, Bloch, Bartók), or simple, often false-simple (Křenek's *Reisebuch*, Milhaud's *Opéras Minutes*, Weill's *Jasager*). Experimenting indefatigably still, for experiment's sake, are a few "remnant" composers. They constitute the era's academists.

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*

"Three currents. . . ." The Primitives stem from Moussorgsky, through Debussy and the *Sacre*. They are the first step in the contemporary evolution. Everything that follows either develops from them, or must take them into account. The emphasis in their music, up to now, has been the moment, the quality in the stuff expressed in successive units. The only line they have known is one leading towards, or away from, a climax; their spirit is predominantly Dionysiac, rhapsodic, incontinent. They are—or were—devils at extracting new sources of excitement. The percussive irregular smash; the dizzy dazzle of sounds like sparks, the rush and roar of sounds like oceans; the shock, and the lying-in-wait-for-the-shock—these are their province. How heavily they have leaned upon Impressionism, they would not care to admit. Cases in point are de Falla, Ravel, Bartók, the early Stravinsky. In Bartók's neo-paganistic music, the moment—laconic, or tumultuous, or beguiling—is everything. The instantaneous effectiveness of his long list of chamber- and piano-works makes one think of them as being basically theatre-music—even, more specifically, ballet-music. Meditation occurs only during a lull; his lyricism is a singing of the feet. Bloch and Copland are Jewish Primitives, whose music differs from Bartók's; and they differ sharply from each other. Bloch is Post-Impressionist, his world the dim internal world of recreated sense-experience, his austerities a sort of sensual abstinence, his marked Hebraism elaborate, infused, and decorative; it is religious more than racial. Copland is less devious and more subjective. The orgiastic quality in his music derives, not by implication, but directly from his race. It is pure yet transposed to the Occident of today. Musically he has learned from the *Sacre* and Mahler. Prokofieff, when he poses as a Primitive, treads close upon the heels of the early Stravinsky. His virtuosity, however, allows him many other

guises. He, Honegger, Antheil, Varèse,² have all bowed, with varying degrees of conviction, to the "machine cult," a self-defeating product of Primitivism.

* * *

In the Classicist field, I place both the "neo-classic" Stravinsky and the expressionist Schönberg—strange bedfellows. At large, a welding with the past forms a characteristic feature of both composers. After the hectic audacities of Stravinsky's first period—he practically inaugurated Primitivism with the *Sacre*, and belatedly said the last word on the subject in *Les Noces*—he underwent a slow, clearly defined transformation. First came the *Symphonies d'instruments à vent*, with its flat chordal slabs, like an introspective moment made articulate, or like a bare canvas from which the painting (the gaudy colors, the jagged rhythms, the piece-by-piece segments, the Oriental languors and ferocities) has been washed off, waiting for a new beginning; then the *Octuor* and the piano works (he renounced the theatre for a time, as a special discipline)—sober music, using seventeenth- and eighteenth-century devices, spreading long lines in organic growth, tending towards a resumption of relations with the formal past. Then ripe fruit: the monumental *Œdipus*; the perfect chamber-ballet *Apollon*; the Italianate *Capriccio*.

The music of Schönberg is at the opposite pole from Stravinsky's; the development and intended aim, though, are much alike. Even before *Pierrot Lunaire* (1912), Schönberg had become weary of a heritage of windy and philosophizing music, grandiloquence, false gods and false counterpoint—the piled-up harmony-counterpoint of Strauss, the counterpoint that makes *crescendi* and unmakes the art of counterpoint. *Pierrot* is, however, the first work that consistently exploits the sketch-as-dogma (a reaction from the interminable *Verklärte Nacht* and the *Gurrelieder*), the stripped orchestra (each of the seven instruments acts not only as a solo voice but as an epitome for an entire group), and the myopic counterpoint of the Netherlanders. It was, of course, an extension—eccentric, yet deep—of the Wagnerian approach, an extension so radical that with its creation Musical Expressionism was born. An esthetic appeared whose chief concept was unbalance. Emotions ("spirituality") ceded to nerves. Following

²Varèse, indeed, is stuck in his tracks; his pieces have all the same goal, an endless insistence on sonority. One extraordinary bang, one marvellously special whisper—and all of Varèse is there.

Pierrot, Schönberg, whether moved by fear or by satiety, scrapped the neurosis but kept the "apparatus." Perfecting and enlarging it, with inventions adapted from early tradition, he achieved his *Zwölftonreihe*, with its *Zauberquadrat*, its charts, its vigilance over the single note, its new *Verboten!*

Stravinsky carries pure Primitivism to its unprecedented orgy, breaks with it for the essential discipline of the *Piano Concerto*, of *Œdipus*. Schönberg, toppling the Post-Romantic megalomania over the edge, addresses himself to the almost mechanical discipline of the *Orchestervariationen*, the *Klaviersuite* Op. 25. Both arrive at the need for a totally organized art—and this need is the chief mark of a Classical approach.

Hindemith, Sessions, Kaminski, Harris, Beck, have followed the Classicist trend. They owe something to Stravinsky or Schönberg, owe more to the hour of their arrival, when the art in its cycle approaches integration. In general, their method links the new language to a familiar syntax. It should be made clear that their "rediscovery" of old devices and forms—the crab-canon, pedalled *stretto*, *ostinato*, and the *Chorale*, *Passacaglia*, *Fugue*, *Oratorio*—is not because of the beautiful examples it gives birth to, but mainly because of the fact that it is a point of departure—from the period of guesswork and anarchy into one of the common building of a music. A masterpiece such as *Œdipus*, of course, defies all classification, nor does it require one.

* *
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The Popularists descend in direct line from the Primitives. "We must get back to fundamentals." Their ideology, displayed in music for the masses, is Communist Russian; their idol is Erik Satie, the Celtic Frenchman; their social system is Central-European (note their utilitarian *Gebrauchsmusik*); they have found practical uses for the virus of jazz, bred in America and spread the world over. They are internationalists. Křenek's *Jonny* was their first considerable and dismal success, Weill's *Dreigroschenoper* their second. (Sauguet's *Chatte* should be included here somewhere; since "the people" have got round to ballads, and circus- and march-music à la Schumann, we discover a *penchant* for them, and call ourselves "neo-Romantic.") There is more to Popularism, luckily, than meets the ear. Satie had undeniable vision, and some means of crystallizing it. Above all, he stood for simplicity, purity. He managed the second; in a wave of rage against highfalutinism, he confused the first with silliness. When

Satie's dream will be realized—it is a dream of some importance to us—we shall see that Popularism is more than a cheap bid for public response, or a big-city snobbishness. In particular, the Communist composers are developing the idea with cogency. Their theory meets Classicism by relegating individual tendencies to the background. They are unfortunately committed to a policy of effusive virility and stormy protest, with the result that their music, so far, is for the most part loud and fast. But they are learning, and they have authentic, purposeful intensity to support them. In certain pages of Milhaud and Poulenc also, and now and then in the music of Weill, the spirit finds true expression.³

* * *

These, then, are the three categories. It is essential to point out that the entire musical output of our day can be conveniently placed into one or the other of them, since it has been said so often that the music of today is not one thing, but "hundreds of types" of things. More, the trends begin to merge. To what end? If history offers any precedent, towards the emergence of a new large form. The Mass of Palestrina, the Fugue of J. S. Bach, the Sonata of Haydn, were amalgams of just such coexisting types as the present scene displays. There is little to be gained by attempting to predict what form it will be. It may appear with the comparative crudity and lack of independence shown in Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's "sonata." Even in its final state, the various ingredients will be merged in no glibly equalized compound.

The signs are already in the heavens. There is for one thing the busy and weaving traffic, breaking the walls of each category, diffusing it into the others. Ravel and de Falla straddle the Classicist and Primitivist fields. Adventurers both, they were born in an age of pioneering, and took to it easily. But by nature dapper adventurers, who, were there a court, would be court-musicians gone slumming, they quickly wedded exploration to elegance, and now spend their middle age cutting excitement to a pattern, gently nostalgic for—not carried away by—*la vie barbare*. Křenek, a curious case, has become a Popularist (Schubert is at the core), having passed through both other currents. Weill forsook a dilapidated "atonal" classicism for his "song-type" (Satie carried bodily to *Berlin-West*). He also betrays a vague inclina-

³The Communists and the members of the *Strénade* faction will not thank me for grouping them together. My considerations are musical, and little politico-extra-musical tiffs do not enter into them.

tion of joining with it, upon the generous arena of the theatre, Handelian rigor. Poulenc, a natural *naïf*, has occasional delusions of grandeur, and lapses into Classicist utterance. Auric dreams of being simple with Satie, is afflicted with dryness and method. Hindemith, classic from head to foot, has nevertheless attempted some successful digressions (*Wir bauen eine Stadt*), and some unsuccessful ones (*Neues vom Tage*) into Popularism. Milhaud is a superb and unexplainably sound mixture of all three. And there are others.

Even when one cannot cite instances of combined tendencies in a single composer, his music will display technical borrowings—of procedure, manipulation—from alien territory. Legitimate borrowings, so long as the work turns out to belong to itself. Certain cults, of course, die hard. “Purity of style” is brought into the conversation, individualism defended. In this connection, it is worth remembering that eventual fusion can only be the better for an earlier insistence on separate loyalties. Mr. Henry Cowell, for instance, has been doing some special pleading in behalf of a “neo-Primitivism.” At a moment when the Primitives are just finding out that vitality is not identical with louder or funnier noises, and are trying fruitfully to advance their concept, he would wish them back at reciting their alphabets. Give Mr. Cowell’s neo-Primitivism room; let a few Classicists hug their camp; keep the most popular Popularists in theirs. Everything is usable, even the scraps—“this pulp that makes the pancake.”

"OF FLUTES AND SOFT RECORDERS"

By H. MACAULAY FITZGIBBON

THERE is much music, excellent voice in this little organ," says Hamlet (III, 2) speaking of the recorder—the English name for the flute-douce or beaked-flute, used throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. It was a recorder on which the Squire in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* "floyted all the day," and which so charmed old Pepys, the diarist. The early musical treatises of Virdung (1511), Agricola (1528), Praetorius (1615) and Mersenne (1636) give fully illustrated descriptions of it. It was a conical wooden tube, held vertically, with from three to eight holes (one was at the back for the left-hand thumb), the mouth-end being nearly filled with a slanted block of wood, and having a fissure across the tube just below—like the ordinary tin-whistle. The recorder had a compass of two octaves, generally in the scale of C or F. A set or "chest" usually consisted of eight instruments of various lengths and pitches, from sopranino or discant to great bass (eight foot). The lower-pitched ones had an open key, protected by a cover, and some had pedal keys worked with the feet. Sets still exist in Chester and Nuremberg. The tone was sweet and pure, softer and feebler than that of the transverse flute, with a touch of solemnity. Little expression or variety of tone was possible, and it was difficult to play in any but the major diatonic scale. The English excelled as players on it, which is the reason why it was often called the "English" flute in contradistinction to the "German" or "Swiss" transverse flute. It long continued to be more popular than its rival, being considered better in tune. Little original music for it is now extant. It began to die out in France about 1750, but survived in Germany to a later date and is said to have been played at a concert in England in 1800. Purcell, Bach, and Handel, all used it largely. Berlioz introduced it into the original version of his *L'Enfance du Christ*.

The recorder has recently been revived, and instruments are now being made in England and Germany, where several Tutors and a Journal, *Der Blockflöten Spiegel*, have appeared. Robin Milford uses it in his recent oratorio *A Prophet in the Land*.

The beaked-flute was gradually ousted by the transverse instrument, blown through a hole in the side. Such a flute existed from time immemorial in India, China, Japan and, possibly,

Egypt. Whether it was known to the ancient Greeks and Romans is uncertain: no *distinct* reference to it has been found in their writings nor has any *complete* specimen, or representation of it, yet been discovered. The earliest European picture of a transverse flute (hereinafter called simply "flute") is said to be in a fresco dating about A.D. 800. Old carvings, sculptures, and mural paintings in churches, such as that in Kiev Cathedral, prove that it was generally known early in the 11th century and perhaps earlier. It is depicted in some 12th-century manuscripts and is mentioned by French poets of the 14th century. It may have come to England with the Normans, and was certainly used there in the time of Henry VIII, who possessed no less than 78 (!), and composed music for it. It is mentioned by Holinshed (*circa* 1580) and described by Bacon; a picture in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579) shows a lady playing it.

The earliest existing descriptions (with illustrations) of the "Zwerch (i.e. cross-wise) pfeiff" (see plate A, after Virdung)—



Plate A

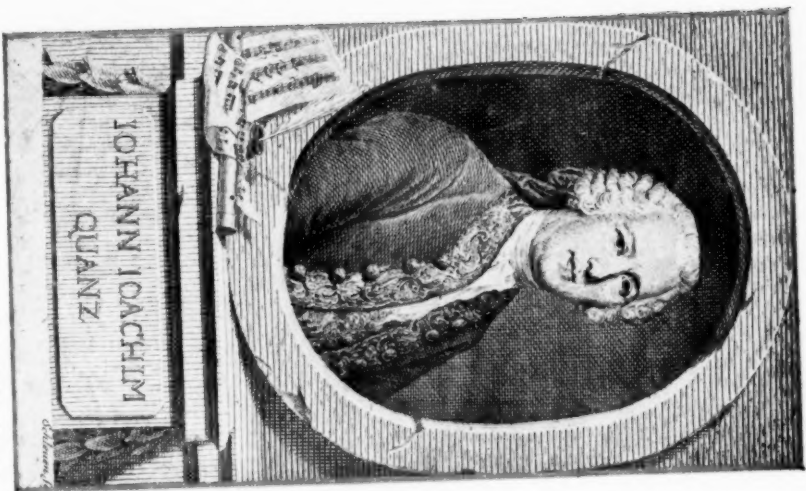
called "Schweytzer pfeiff" by Agricola—show it to have been a single-cylinder tube, closed at one end near which was a round mouth-hole, with six finger-holes. The steps by which this keyless pipe developed into the keyed flutes for which the earlier great composers wrote, and on which many famous flutists played, are briefly as follows: the tube was divided into two pieces before 1620, and into three before 1700; about 1680-90 the body was made conical, with a cylinder headjoint, and a key for D sharp (J. C. Denner, "inventor" of the clarinet); the tube was lengthened and the low C sharp and C natural were added *c.* 1722, but were not popular till after 1800; the oval mouth-hole (now general) dates from *c.* 1724; the headjoint was lined with metal *c.* 1750; the G sharp, short B flat and short F natural keys were added *c.* 1774 (J. G. Tromlitz); the long F natural and C natural keys were added before 1786 (Tromlitz).

The conical 8-keyed flute (see plate B) has a softer, more



Plate B

velvety, tone than the modern Boehm, and many German players still prefer it for rendering old music; but, owing to the necessity



The Music-Master of Frederick the Great.
(After an engraving by Schlemmer.)



Jacques Hottelierre, "Le Romain".
(By Bernard Picart.)

GOD SAVE THE KING
with new Variations for the Flute & Piano-forte.
Accompaniment.



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(The head represents George III; the "Prince Regent" became George IV.)

of making the holes in convenient positions and of unequal sizes, to suit the player's fingers, it is hard to play in tune; the tone is uneven, some notes being veiled and weaker than others, the high notes are uncertain, execution is limited, and shakes are difficult. Many attempts were made to remedy these defects. The only one of any ultimate importance was that of F. Nolan, an Essex clergyman, who in 1808 devised an open-standing valve lying over a hole (e.g. G sharp) with a lever ending in a ring standing over the hole next below (e.g. F sharp), which, when pressed down, closed both holes. The ring was the germ of the perforated key.

A young goldsmith named Theobald Boehm (1794-1881), who had played the flute from childhood and become first flute in the Munich court orchestra, set up a flute factory and devoted his mechanical and inventive genius to improving the instrument. In 1829, he made a flute retaining the existing system of keys, position, and finger-hole sizes, but with a slightly improved mechanism. He performed on the instrument in London in 1831. While there, he was much struck by Nicholson's large, full tone (partly due to his broad fingers, which allowed very large holes) and, returning to Munich, he set to work to devise a flute on an entirely new system, which would combine facility and equality of tone with accuracy of intonation. His new flute, constructed in 1831 and used in public in 1832, had holes as large as Nicholson's largest, all of uniform size, and in correct acoustical positions. They were fitted with ring-keys worked by rods and "finger-touches." All the keys (except the D sharp and trill keys) stood open when not in use, and therefore necessitated a new system of fingerings. After over 300 experiments, Boehm produced his final model in 1847; it had a cylinder bore for the body with a "parabolic" headjoint (i.e. the interior diameter tapering in varying degrees towards the cork-end), slightly larger holes with open-standing covers for closing them (in place of the fingers) and various modifications of key construction.¹ These changes gave vastly improved intonation throughout the entire compass; increased the carrying power and volume of tone, especially in the lower notes, which are of a unique character; rendered the high notes more certain and easy; and, by reducing the number of cross-fingerings, greatly increased facility, especially in remote keys.

¹Professor Dayton C. Miller, Cleveland, Ohio, who possesses the most marvellous collection of flutes in the world, has kindly supplied me with some of these details respecting Boehm's flutes.

Boehm's flute was slow in making its way against prejudice and indolence; many great players refused to adopt it, many orchestral conductors objected to it. But it is now universally used, very much as Boehm left it, except for the double thumb-key for B flat invented by Briccialdi (1849) and some minor improvements, such as needle-springs, shake-keys, etc. (See plate C.)



Plate C

It was at once taken up by Rudall, Carte & Co., the leading English flute-makers, who, in 1867, produced the "combined Boehm & Carte Patent Flute" (having double keys for F sharp and F natural, an open D, and other new features), which has been largely adopted in Great Britain. Several other models, with various alterations, by Pratten, Rockstro, Radcliff, and others, have each had their advocates, but they are all, as it were, variations on Boehm's theme.

Alto (often miscalled bass) flutes in G—a perfect fourth below the ordinary flute in C—existed since the days of Agricola. Tansur (1746) mentions one 36 inches long. Boehm made them in silver, c. 1855. The modern instruments have a distinct and very beautiful, rich, mellow tone. Mersenne mentions a true bass-flute in C—an octave below the ordinary flute; many attempts have since been made to produce a satisfactory flute of this pitch. In 1910 Signor Albisi devised one which is held vertically—like Giorgi's keyless ordinary flute (1896)—and has been used in Italy and Germany. Quite recently, Rudall, Carte & Co. have put on the market a semi-vertical bass-flute in C, made in metal, 4 feet 10 inches long, with a slanting headjoint. It is a complete success.

* *
*

The transverse flute was introduced into the Paris Opera House in 1690 by Jacques Hotteterre, called "Le Romain," a chamber musician to Louis XIV. His *Principes* (1707) is the earliest-known book of instructions for the instrument; an English translation appeared a few years later. He wrote a considerable number of suites and light dance-pieces for flute with accompaniment, and some trios for flute, oboe, and violin, published c. 1700.

As they have not been republished, the earliest accessible flute music is that of J.-B. Loeillet.² Two of his 36 sonatas for flute and piano, three trios for two flutes and piano, and two for flute, oboe, and piano, dating c. 1710, have recently been republished. (Others exist in manuscripts in the British Museum.) They are simple, but show considerable skill in development. He was followed by M. Blavet, whose playing was praised by Voltaire. Six of his 18 sonatas for flute and bass (1732) have been republished. Each consists of several short movements, somewhat Handelian in style, but with more brightness and daintiness. Early flute-parts seldom travel above the first two octaves, and are rarely in keys which include a G sharp or A flat (Quantz uses them, however). Even in Handel's day, keys with four sharps or flats were hardly ever used—Bach's sonatas have only a single instance (4 sharps)—and accidentals or chromatic passages rarely occur. Many fine old sonatas of the period 1700-80 by Daniel Purcell, John Stanley, Benedetto Marcello, Pietro Locatelli and others, hitherto buried in public libraries, have now been republished by the late Louis Fleury and other editors. They are not, strictly speaking, sonatas. They consist, usually, of a number of separate short movements, chiefly in dance rhythms. There is sometimes an introduction, and they almost always end with a Gigue. The changes of key being limited usually to tonic and dominant, little variety is possible. These tuneful, straightforward old works, with their simple accompaniments, though not adapted to exploit the possibilities of the modern flute, afford ample scope for display of tone and phrasing, feeling and expression. Their style suits the flute admirably.

A much nearer approach to the true sonata form is shown in the works of Johann Joachim Quantz, the first German flutist-composer of note, and music-master to Frederick the Great, for whom he wrote 300 concertos or sonatas for the flute and some duets for two flutes. The king would not allow them to be published; the manuscripts still exist in the library at Potsdam, and about a dozen have now been published. They are of a simple, dignified character, resembling Handel rather than Bach in style, somewhat stereotyped, and showing little originality or imagination. The slow movements are often melodious. Quantz improved the flute of his day by increasing its length and diameter, and by adding a wooden tuning-slide. Its adoption rendered out-of-date the earlier plan of having a number of middle joints of

²Whether the flute music was by Jean-Baptiste or Jacques Loeillet is a matter of uncertainty. See Carl Engel, "Views and Reviews," *THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY* for October, 1933, pp. 470-471.

various lengths. He also devised separate keys for D sharp and E flat, "to correct their enharmonic differences": this innovation died with him (See plate D). Thanks to Carlyle, and others,



Plate D

everyone knows how Quantz was engaged by the Queen to give lessons on the flute to the young Crown Prince at the risk of his being horse-whipped by his music-despising father. J. S. Bach considered Frederick a good amateur flutist. The King practised several hours daily, chiefly in the morning (playing scales in bed) and in the evening "to assist digestion." Even during his campaigns, he never abandoned his "most innocent Princess" (as he termed his flute) till he lost his front teeth. At his evening concerts in Sans-Souci Palace he often played three or more long concertos in succession, standing (as depicted in Menzel's picture) at his tortoise-shell music-desk, with Benda at the piano and Quantz in the background beating time and crying "Bravo," or coughing, as he approved or disapproved. The King was a nervous player, excelling in adagios. He never played any compositions but Quantz's or his own, which latter number about 100; some have been republished. Frederick wrote the melody, roughly indicated the bass, and Quantz or Benda filled in the rest.

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Doubtless owing to the defects of the instrument of their day, the great composers did not employ it so much, or in the same manner, as the strings; nevertheless they have left us a very considerable amount of precious flute-music. In Bach's and Handel's time, the transverse flute was gradually superseding the beaked-flute; but they used both forms throughout their lives, terming the former *traversa* and the latter *flauto*. As the same performer was often required to play both forms, and also the oboe, they are seldom used simultaneously. The flute had not yet become a regular permanent member of the orchestra, but was reserved chiefly for obbligatos or special effects, e.g. to express joy or sorrow or weeping. Bach gave great prominence to the flute, assigning to it passages of greater difficulty than any previous composer, and using it from bottom D to top G. Handel seldom ascends above E, or Haydn above F, and both of them (and also

Mozart) avoid using the weak lower notes. Bach prefers the sharp keys, and occasionally combines the flute with the viola as a tenor instrument. His cantatas contain some very florid flute parts, often using two or even three. The solo parts in the Brandenburg Concertos, No. 2 in F and No. 4 in G, and also his arrangement of the latter as a concerto in F, were written for the beaked-flute. Those in No. 5 in D and the so-called No. 8 in A minor are for the transverse flute, as also are his Suite No. 2 in B minor for flute and four strings (containing the well-known Polonaise with bravura variation and Badinerie); his two trios in G and C minor for flute, violin and figured bass; his Sonata Trio in G for two flutes and bass (subsequently arranged for viola da gamba); the recently discovered Sonata for flute unaccompanied, and his six Sonatas for flute and clavier (1747). These last are among the treasures of every flutist's library. The slow movements admirably display the expressive qualities of the instrument, but the fast movements are not specially "flutey"; they might have been written for the violin or piano. Bach's flute parts are often very exhausting to the player, giving him no opportunity to take breath, and requiring an organ-bellows. They demand a perfect technique. Like most early sonatas, they contain no solo passages or cadenzas.

Handel's eleven Sonatas for flute and clavier are much easier, shorter, and less elaborate, than those of Bach. Each consists of several short movements rather in the style of Loeillet and Blavet. Four, viz. in G minor, C, F, and A minor (Nos. 2, 4, 5 and 7 in the Peters Edition) were written for the beaked-flute, which he often uses, especially in his earlier works. Handel employs the flute more sparingly than Bach, often merely to double the violins in octaves. Many of his operas and oratorios have no flute part, and the instrument is never used continuously throughout any work. In his concertos, it is used only in slow movements. His chamber works, recently republished, include a Trio in C minor for flute, violin and piano; a Quartet in F for same with violoncello; and 10 quartets for two violins or flutes and cembalo.

With Haydn, the flute becomes a constituent member of the orchestra, having important passages in most of his symphonies and in *The Creation* (the part for the third flute in the introduction to Part III was originally written in the oboist's part). Haydn was evidently fond of the flute³ and thoroughly grasped its characteristics and melodic quality, especially in the rich middle

³See Carleton Sprague Smith, "Haydn's Chamber Music and the Flute," Parts I and II, in the July and October, 1933, issues of *THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY*.

register. His Sonata in G, No. 8, for flute and piano is practically identical (with some omissions) with his String Quartet, Op. 77, No. 1. His three Trios for flute, violoncello, and piano; six Divertimenti, Op. 100, for flute, violin and violoncello; and twelve Duets for two flutes, Op. 101 and 104, have recently been republished. The British Museum contains other trios and some quartets attributed to him.

Mozart realized the flute's evanescent beauty and idyllic character, and shows thorough knowledge of its technique.⁴ Though absent from many of his earlier works, in his later symphonies, his serenades, divertimenti and operas, the flute is largely used and is sometimes given important solos. He employs it in bright, lively passages, and never to express grief or desolation—as Gluck does in *Orpheus* and elsewhere. Most of Mozart's flute music—chamber and solo—was composed (c. 1774-80) for special players or wealthy amateur patrons, e.g. his Adagio and Rondo in C minor, Op. 20 (K. 617) for flute, oboe, viola, violoncello, and glass harmonica, was written for Marianne Kirchgassner, a famous blind harmonica-player. His two flute Concertos in G and D (K. 313, 314) and his Concerto for flute and harp (K. 299) are in his usual fluent style, so also his Andante in C, Op. 86 (K. 315) for flute and strings, his Duets for two flutes, Op. 74 and 75, which consist of tuneful movements adapted from his other works, as also is his third Quartet in C (K. 171) for flute and three strings. The opening movement of the first Quartet in D (K. 285) is almost a flute solo; strange to say, the second and third movements differ completely in different editions. The second Quartet in A (K. 298) is for flute or violin.

Beethoven, in the main, resembles Mozart in his treatment of the flute, but gives it more difficult passages, with more accidentals and chromatics. He introduces the top A freely, but rarely employs the lowest notes, which Mendelssohn used (to bottom C) with telling effect in the *Midsummer Night's Dream* Scherzo. Beethoven was the first great composer to introduce the piccolo into a Symphony (No. 5). The many effective flute passages in his symphonies and overtures are too well known to need specification. In his Serenade in D, Op. 25, for flute, violin, and viola, he obtains wonderfully full effects; it is much superior to his posthumous Trio in G for flute, bassoon, and piano. His Allegro, Minuet, and Trio, for two flutes, written in 1792 for an amateur flutist, is distinctly original and novel. It was long thought that his own arrangement

⁴See Nathan Broder, "The Wind-Instruments in Mozart's Symphonies" in the July, 1933, issue of THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY.

of his String Trio, Op. 8, as a duet for flute and piano, Op. 41, was his only composition for these instruments, but, in 1904, Mr. van Leeuwen discovered a Manuscript Sonata in B flat (now published), which bears all the characteristics of Beethoven's earlier works.

Weber's Trio for flute, violin, and violoncello (Op. 63), contains much effective writing for the flute, and, in his operas, he, like Meyerbeer, employs its lowest notes to portray weird gloom and mystery; he also anticipated Mendelssohn in using it for fairy-like effects. Schubert's Quartet for flute, guitar, viola, and violoncello (discovered in manuscript in 1918), and his Duet for flute and piano (Op. 160) on *Trockene Blumen*, with very difficult and diffuse variations, written in 1824 to display the powers of a flutist friend, conclude the list of chamber pieces or solos for the flute by the great composers. Would that Berlioz or Tchaikovsky (both flutists) or Bizet, who wrote such charming flute parts in *Carmen*, had left us something!

* *

The most outstanding figure in the history of flute music is F. D. Kuhlau (1786-1832), a fine contrapuntist, deservedly termed "The Beethoven of the Flute." His 14 Grand Concertante Duets for flute and piano are models of construction in strict sonata form. They never pall, occupying in the flutist's repertoire a place similar to Beethoven's Sonatas in that of the pianist, and frequently showing the influence of that master, of whom they would not be unworthy. In his Trio for two flutes and piano, his 15 Solos, his 18 Duets for two flutes (the best ever written), and his unrivalled Quartet for four flutes, Kuhlau displays originality, variety, and strong individuality. The earlier half of the 19th century saw the appearance of a flood of works for two, three, or four flutes, unaccompanied. Most of them are now as dead as their writers, but several eminent flutist-composers about 1820-30 produced many such works which, though unknown to the general public, are still deservedly popular with flute-players all the world over, and display melodic gifts, fine workmanship, and contrapuntal skill. The Duets and Trios of G. Kummer are characterised by clarity and grace, almost equalling the work of Kuhlau. Though less scientific and occasionally rather eccentric, E. Walckiers, in his numerous writings for flute with or without other instruments, shows imagination, freshness, and vivacity. One of his two quartets for four flutes (Op. 46) is quite Schubertian in its modulations. J. W. Gabrielsky's duets and trios and his three quartets are characterised by the fullness of their harmonies.

Others who deserve mention, though not quite in the same rank as the above, are T. Berbiguier, who wrote no less than 150 duets and 32 trios; Weber's friend, A. B. Fürstenau, composer of numerous clever but rather soulless duets and trios, and a fine flute quartet introducing the Austrian National Anthem with variations *à la* Haydn; and Jean Louis Tulou, who, besides 52 duets for two flutes, wrote a number of pieces for flute and piano. Some of them are tasteful and occasionally brilliant, but most are of the *air varié*-with-jog-trot-accompaniment type then becoming popular.

A galaxy of *virtuosi* on the old flute appeared between 1820-60: Louis Drouet ("the Paganini of the Flute" who first played in public at the age of 7, and later became solo-flutist to Napoleon I), C. Nicholson, Richardson, Asher, Ciardi, etc. They did immense injury to the reputation of the instrument, seldom playing anything but their own worthless compositions, mere "Niagaras of Notes," full of meaningless "graces" and twiddlings, and written solely to display digital dexterity and lung-power. An enthusiastic flutist and concert-goer named W. James in his *A Word or two on the Flute* (1826) does not mention a single classical composer, but fills whole pages with detailed descriptions of rubbish, such as Nicholson's *Cease Your Fuming* and "that distinguished piece," Drouet's *God Save the King* played by the composer at the Birmingham Festival, 1816, and also at his London concert in 1829, at which Mendelssohn conducted his own manuscript overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Not a single solo mentioned by James would be tolerated by an audience today. Countless pieces of their kind, and "Pocket Companions" of tunes for the flute, were published. A journal *The Flutonicon* appeared monthly from 1834 to 1846, and almost every piece of music had "an accompaniment for the German Flute." Flute-playing became a fashionable craze; it formed an essential part of every gentleman's education, and innumerable incompetent amateurs (satirized by Dickens and other novelists of the time) dabbled at it, attempting vapid pieces often far beyond their powers. Hence arose the idea that the only music suitable for the instrument was of the emptier kind. An improvement began about 1880, when R. Sturges included in his concert programs works of a superior class by Kalliwoda, Doppler, Terschak, and others—even some Kuhlau Sonatas. His example was followed by O. Svendsen and F. Griffith. But the *Air Varié* and operatic fantasia died hard. In a list, published in *Musical Opinion* (1892), of 132 pieces selected by vote, 70 were of this character, including three on the *Carnaval de Venise*—and Handel, Haydn, or Mozart, are not mentioned.

Happily, audiences are gradually ceasing to be satisfied with mere "fireworks," and the programs of leading soloists now frequently include works by the great composers, especially Bach. After an eclipse of over half a century, the flute is coming into its own again as a solo instrument, and it now has a very extensive repertoire of high-class music—the largest of any wind-instrument. The French excel in writing distinctly *flute* music: chiefly light pieces of a pastoral, elegiac or oriental character, pieces often abounding in dainty filigree and making effective use of the lower notes. Such works are better suited to the flute than the lengthy Concertos and Sonatas favored by many German composers. The flute is being increasingly used in chamber music, with almost every conceivable combination of strings or wind or both, from trios to nonets, with or without piano; and it is no longer confined to the top part or tune, as with the earlier composers. In recent orchestral works, much prominence is given to the flute, three or even four (including often an alto flute) being constantly employed, along with one or two piccolos.

I do not have room to deal adequately with modern Chamber or Orchestral works in this article. Suffice it to mention their chief characteristics: (1) use of the lower register and of extreme high notes, up to C in alto and even above it; (2) employment of *Flatterzunge*, tremolo, and other devices; (3) extended chromatic and scale passages; (4) solos with very slight accompaniment; (5) very difficult passages, allotted not merely to the principal but to all the flutes equally, and requiring a high standard of technical skill from all.

TYPES OF QUECHUA MELODY

By WINTHROP SARGEANT

DURING the summer of 1931, the writer of this article made a journey to Central Peru for the purpose of acquainting himself with the vocal and instrumental music of the Quechua¹ Indians, and with the aim of collecting some of it. The melodies considered in this article are, with one exception, chosen from a large number notated by him from the playing or singing of individual Quechua musicians in various towns in the valley of the Montaro River.

The music of the Quechuas of Peru, as well as that of the Aymarás and other allied stocks inhabiting the mountainous sections of Ecuador and Bolivia, offers a field of research that is, in many ways, unique in the western hemisphere. The Indians of the Andes possess a musical art which shows few traces of the epic or ritual characteristics associated with that of the North American tribes, and have what is probably the most highly developed, apparently indigenous instrumental music in the two continents. Just how much their melodies may have been influenced by the music of the Spanish *conquistadores* is difficult to determine, but it becomes quite clear, upon studying the structure of these melodies and the history of the people who evolved them, that this influence has not been very considerable.

The Quechuas are an agricultural people that have reached a high degree of ethnic development. Most of them have lived in comparative isolation, culturally, since the conquest. They have preserved their own language and many of their crafts and customs from the time of the Inca domination; except in the larger towns, they have had little direct contact with outer civilization. The difficulty of travel in the Andean *sierra* has contributed greatly to their isolation—most of them live in mountain gorges and plateaus at altitudes where the lowlander breathes with discomfort. They, with the Aymarás of the south, constitute, moreover, a surprisingly large portion of the Peruvian population, a portion estimated at more than eighty per cent. These physical and social conditions have combined to make it exceedingly difficult for the language and institutions of the politically dominant Spaniards to penetrate far beyond the large cities of the seacoast.

¹Pronounced Kechwah.

The music of the Quechuas, which today is still very much in evidence everywhere in the Peruvian *cordilleras*, has thus, along with the rest of their institutions, come down at least in part from the civilization of the Incas. References in the chronicles of the early Spanish travellers show the original inhabitants of Peru to have been a very musical people, and evidence from archaeological sources proves that, at least a thousand years previous to the time of the conquest, they possessed an instrumental music of consequence. It would be rash to maintain that any of the melodies played nowadays by the Quechuas have been conserved intact since the time of their Inca forefathers, but there is much evidence to support the view that the musical language in which they are expressed has remained relatively pure.

Most Quechua melodies are based on a pentatonic scale. Of the two possible foreign influences that might have been brought to bear on this music—the folk-music of the Spaniard on one hand, and the ecclesiastical polphony and Gregorian Chant introduced into the country by the Christian *padres* on the other—neither is distinguished by strikingly pentatonic characteristics.² The Quechua idiom is basically monodic, showing no traces of harmonic implications, and, as we shall presently observe, Quechua melodies are continually exhibiting peculiarities of structure that are quite foreign to the various types of pentatonic folk-melody to be found in Europe.

Further evidence of the indigenous character of this music can be seen in the similarity of the instruments upon which it is played to those used by the various Inca and pre-Inca peoples who inhabited the same district before the conquest. The principal melodic instruments in use among the Quechuas today are the *kena*, or vertical flute, and the *antara*, or pipes of Pan. Instruments of European origin—the violin, the clarinet, the harp—have been introduced into the more populous communities by the Spaniards, but, except for the harp, which in a very quaint local form is popular throughout the *sierra*, they have not achieved any essential place in the Quechua's musical scheme. One may hear the pipings of either the *kena* or the *antara*, on the other hand, in almost any mountain village from Ecuador to Bolivia. Without them, the celebration of fiestas, weddings, funerals, dances, bullfights, and all the other social functions which are so important a part of Quechua life, would be impossible.

²Felipe Pedrell, *Cancionero musical popular español*, Vol. I, p. 27: "Lo que no se encuentra, que yo sepa, en España, es el modo pentafono."

The kena consists of a tube of natural cane, open at both ends and pierced laterally with anywhere from two to seven finger-holes. It is held like a flageolet when played. Its embouchure, however, consists simply of a notch in the wall at one end of the tube across which the breath is directed. The lower lip meanwhile covers a large portion of the mouth of the tube. The scales produced by various types of kena differ, but in its most common form, which has become virtually standardized in the *sierra*, six finger-holes give a diatonic major scale of two octaves. The upper octave is produced by overblowing.

The antara is the same instrument as the ancient Greek syrinx. It is formed of lengths of natural cane placed side by side in a graduated series and tied firmly in position by means of cord. The binding is sometimes reinforced with flat cross-pieces of cane. The tubes are ordinarily closed at one end, and the instrument is sounded by blowing across the open ends. Usually one tube at a time is played and the instrument is shifted from side to side for each change of pitch in the simple melodic line. It is found in a variety of forms, however, and in a variety of tunings. While the kena is played almost universally throughout the Andean area, the antara seems commoner in certain districts than in others. It is most popular in Southern Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador; rarest in Central Peru. The Ecuadorian version of it, known as *rondador*, is an instrument designed for polyphonic uses and built to produce two tones at a time.

Both the kena and the antara were used by the pre-Inca people of the Peruvian coast, as well as by the Incas themselves. Archaeological investigators have unearthed a large number of ancient musical instruments from graves and abandoned cities, principally at Nasca in Southern Peru and in the region around Trujillo in the northern part of the same country. The propensity of the early peoples of Peru for decorating their pottery with scenes from daily life has furnished us with countless representations of musicians in the act of playing these instruments. While much archaeological research remains to be done in Peru—whole cities await excavation—sufficient evidence has been unearthed to show that music played an important part in the life of the ancient Peruvians, and that the principal melodic instruments used by them were the same kena and antara that the Quechua plays today.

In general the ancient examples are of much finer workmanship than are the contemporary ones. The pre-Inca antara was made either of terra cotta, stone, or lengths of natural cane. Few

of the cane instruments have survived, although we know, from the representations of musicians on the pottery of the early Chimu culture, that their use was widespread. The stone and terra cotta antaras, on the other hand, are found frequently. They resemble their modern counterparts except for the difference of the material used in their construction. The ancient kena was made of cane, terra cotta, or bone. As with the antara, surviving specimens made of cane are rare, while those made from terra cotta (Chimu "blackware") and those made from bones are fairly common.


A surprisingly large proportion of the ancient instruments give, when sounded, a reasonably clear pentatonic scale similar to that used by the modern Quechua—a further testimony to the indigenous origin of his musical system.

Thus, though the music heard in the Andean region today may be influenced here and there by contact with various extraneous traditions introduced by the Spanish conquerors, the indications are that its basic character has not greatly changed since the time of the Inca Empire.

* * *

The music of the Quechua is, in general, full of repetitions. Single phrases or groups of phrases are played over and over again *ad infinitum*. This is a great convenience to the student, since he can check his notations of songs and kena-pieces with each repetition, insuring their accuracy. As far as the relative pitches of the Quechua scale are concerned, no constant deviation from our standards of intonation was encountered. The music was singularly devoid of the various changes of inflection characteristic of the music of the North American Indians, as well as of the *portamenti*, or "scoops," common in many types of folk-music. The relative purity and coldness of these melodies may be due to the influence of the kena, which is, like the flute, an instrument capable of little variation in dynamics, or it may be simply a reflection of the natural placidity of the Quechua temperament. In any case, the music is of a type offering no considerable obstacles to exact expression by means of our notation either in point of intonation or of rhythm.

As soon as one enters the mountain country of the Peruvian interior, one encounters the pentatonic scale. The Quechua uses one pentatonic mode almost exclusively—the second as listed by

Helmholtz,³ consisting of a root, minor third, perfect fourth, perfect fifth and minor seventh: . This arrangement of tones, with the addition of an occasional F sharp as a passing-note, forms the basis of the majority of his melodies. Two typical kena-pieces follow:

"Paloma por qué no quieres?"

No. 1. Huayno

(Huancayo)

Actual sounds, major seventh higher



"Ñusta Chincachicc"

No. 2. Triste

(Huancavelica)

Actual sounds, major seventh higher




Incidentally, a somewhat similar use of the second pentatonic mode is to be found in the folk-music of the Transylvanian Hungarians as recorded by Zoltán Kodály and Béla Bartók.⁴ A comparison of the idioms is extremely interesting. There is of course no possibility of mutual influence. It may be remarked, *a propos* of these two melodies, that rhythms and phrase groups of five are as common in this music as those of four, and that, while the


³Helmholtz, H. L., "Sensations of Tone," London, 1885, p. 260.

⁴Bartók, Béla, *A Magyar Népdal, Rózsavölgyi és Társa*, Budapest, 1924; and Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály (ed.), "Transylvanian Hungarian Folk-Songs," Popular Literary Society, Budapest.

majority of Quechua melodies are conceived with obvious metrical logic, the isorhythmic metres of two and four are apparently by no means fundamental to the Quechua scheme of things.

In any representative group of these melodies a proportionately large number will be found in which the third degree of the mode () is either omitted completely or relegated to a position of little melodic importance. This type of melody, which is strikingly foreign to the *gringo* ear, seems to have as its basis of construction a tetratonic rather than a pentatonic scale:



The melodic line in this type observes a very curious set of conventions. The leap of the minor seventh  is very common—in fact this interval is dwelt upon with obvious satisfaction, often forming the basis of the melodic structure. A few examples will illustrate the peculiarities of the type:

No. 3. Triste

(Ayacucho)

(♩. = 50)

Pu - run sa - ch'a - chu pu - run ru - mi - chu car - cca -
mi, ma - na ma - may - oc ma - na ta
- tay - oc ca - may - pac.

Translation of text:

A wild tree,
A desert stone,
I have been.
Without mother,
Without father,
I have lived.

(Sung by Maria Espiritu Riveros)

¹Instruments giving this peculiar scale are not uncommon among the Quechuas. A modern *antara* from Oruro, Bolivia, in the possession of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, N. Y., gives the following series of tones:


 =somewhat flatter than 440)

No. 4. Song

(Chupaca)

(♩ = 120)

Ma - ña - na cuan - do me va - ye, lin - da Pin - chi - ni - ta, Ya
no me ve - ran tus o - jos Cuan - do yo me va - ye,
Cuan - do yo me va - ye.

Translation of concluding stanza, which is in Quechua, in contrast with the rest of the text, which is in Spanish.

"Ay! What cold! What wind!"
When you complain thus
"In my right arm
Make your nest,"
So will I say.

(Sung by Donatilda Reyes)

No. 5. Song

(Ayacucho)

(♩ = 60)

La lu - na men - gua, el sol e - clip - sa. Por qué de - li - to
pa - des - co tan - to? No - cca - chu car - cca - ni ma - man hua - cca - chic?
No - cca - chu car - cca - ni tay - tan ña - qui - chic? No - cca - chu car - cca - ni ma - man hua -
cca - chic? No - cca - chu car - cca - ni tay - tan ña - qui - chic?

(Sung by Maria Espiritu Riveros)

No. 6. Kena melody

(Huancayo?)

Actual sounds, major
seventh higher

(♩ = 120)

Ma - ña - na cuan - do me va - ye, lin - da Pin - chi - ni - ta, Ya
no me ve - ran tus o - jos Cuan - do yo me va - ye,
Cuan - do yo me va - ye.



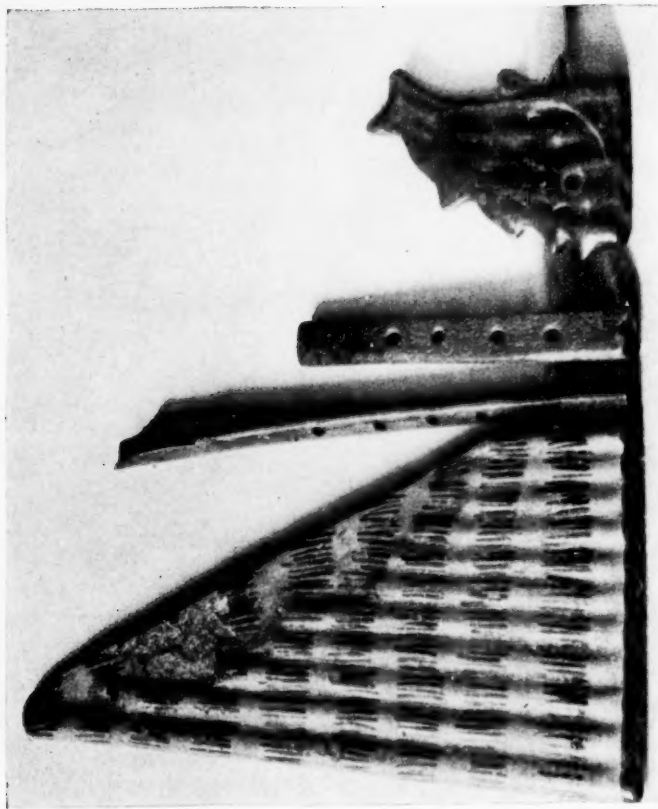
Chimu Water-Jug
depicting reclining figure playing *kena*.
(By courtesy of the Archaeological Museum, Lima.)



Chimu Water-Jug
depicting man playing *antara*.
(By courtesy of the Archaeological Museum, Lima.)



Pre-Inca *kena* or vertical flute
made of terra cotta.
(Chimu culture.)



Two terra cotta *antas* and two bone *kenas*,
all pre-Inca, from Nasca.
The *antas* are inverted, i. e., the mouth-holes may be seen at
the bottom of the picture.

(Both illustrations by courtesy of the Archaeological Museum, Lima.)

Whether or not the tetratonic mode implied in these examples is the remnant of an earlier form of the Quechua scale is an interesting subject for speculation. Much investigation, both archaeological and ethnological, remains to be done before any definite answer can be given to the question. A large number of pentatonic Quechua melodies show the influence of this peculiar four-tone melodic pattern. Melody No. 1, quoted above, exhibits in spots the same tendency of the melodic line to swing between the first and fifth degrees of the pentatonic mode and to skip the third degree. It is rare to find this peculiarity in the so-called "hybrid" melodies of the "Cholos." These, which exhibit unmistakable evidences of the influence of foreign idioms, will be considered presently. The tetratonic mode seems to be a unique feature of the purer types of Quechua music, and evidence from archaeological sources shows that it was not unknown to the ancients.⁶

The songs of the Quechua are, as a rule, plaintive and melancholy. To his already naïvely sombre melodic scheme he adds a text that runs the gamut of all the tribulations of his simple life. Trees and stones, birds and llamas, the solitude of his pastoral life, his father and mother, the *coca*-leaves which he incessantly


⁶Three ancient terra cotta antaras from Nasca, in the possession of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, N. Y., give scales that throw an interesting light on this point. The instruments, one of which is unusually large in size—and probably, in consequence, unusually dependable in the matter of intonation—are in an excellent state of preservation. The scales given by these instruments are approximately as follows:



[Last two notes somewhat indefinite because of high pitch.]

Tones deviating radically from our established intonation are indicated, a plus showing that the sound is sharper than the written note, a minus that it is flatter. The

chews—all find a place somewhere in his poetry, which may take shape in the Quechua language, or in Spanish, or in a mixture of both. The comparative gaiety of No. 4 is quite exceptional.

Quechua melodies ending on the third degree of the mode we have been considering ()⁷ are not infrequent.

In most instances, however, they show no difference in construction, or change in melodic centre of gravity, and, except for the fact that they end on a different note, they are in no way to be distinguished from melodies in the second mode.

"Quejas"

No. 7. Song

(Ayacucho)

(♩ = 50)




Ay ña - hui, ña - hui, Lli - pu - man - ta hua - ccay Cay ma - na Kju - ya - na,
Kju - yas - ccay - qui - man - ta, Cay ma - na huay - llu - na, Huay - llus - ccay - qui - man - ta.

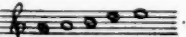
pitches may be ascertained more definitely from the following tables.

VIBRATION NUMBERS FOR THE PITCHES PRODUCED BY THE THREE PANPIPES (ANTARAS)


I	II	III
143	287	567
180	365	703
224	448	871
279	539	1019
314	601	1161
372	707	1350
426	780	1521
477	840	1635
564	1027	1878
636	1190	2127

The possibility of an attempt on the part of the instrument maker to conform to a standard series () is evident. This series, while pen-

tatonic in the upper octave, contains a tetratonic lower octave in which the third pentatonic-modal degree is appropriately missing.

⁷Thus apparently belonging to the fourth rather than to the second pentatonic mode of Helmholtz: .

The true major pentatonic melody, centered in the modal

octave , and containing no hint of the minor

mode is exceedingly rare. No. 13, which is considered below in another connection, is an example of this type.

Melodies ending on yet other tones of the pentatonic series (and belonging apparently to Helmholtz's first and fifth pentatonic modes) have been recorded in various collections. They are, however, rather exceptional, and the present writer was unable to find a single example.


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Another sort of Andean music, that superficially bears little resemblance to the kind we have been considering, is to be found in the heptatonic melodies supposed to have originated in a mixture of the Quechua with the Spanish or Creole idioms. These tunes are great favorites with the musicians of the larger towns whose attitude toward their work is somewhat professionally self-conscious, and who probably do not represent the purest tradition. The heptatonic type of melody is, however, not unknown to the people of the more isolated sections, and it has about it a distinctly individual character, being quite devoid of the distinguishing marks of the frankly Spanish music heard along the Peruvian and Ecuadorian coasts.

It has no doubt been noted in the foregoing examples that the Quechua musician often fills up one of the minor thirds of his pentatonic scale with an extra tone which he uses in an ornamental capacity—usually as a passing-tone between two more important

melodic notes: . Similarly, he often inserts

a C sharp between the B and the D of this series, forming thus a mode equivalent to the Dorian of our theory books. Often a kena-player will take a well-known pure pentatonic melody and ornament it *ad libitum* with these extra tones. Melodies in the major pentatonic mode with the addition of the same passing-tones

take on the character of our Lydian mode: .

The following example will illustrate the process:

No. 8. Yaravi

(Huancayo)

(Kena)⁸

(♩ = 60)



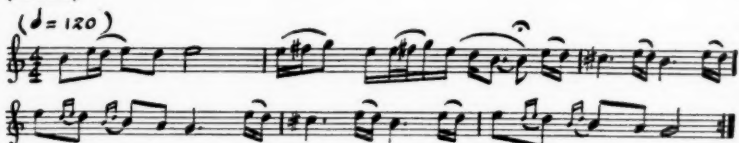
So far the relationship to the pentatonic original is evident—it is simply a matter of ornamentation. In the true “hybrid” melody of the Quechuas, however, the pentatonic basis is not so apparent, and the extra-pentatonic tones are used as essential parts of the melodic scheme. The “hybrid” type, with its queer modality is no less striking to the *gringo* ear than are the other varieties of Andean melody:

“Tuta Quilla”

No. 9. Yaravi

(Huancavelica)

(Kena)



Here, in a melody otherwise pentatonic in character, the note C sharp is used in a place of importance. The effect is very curious.

▶ The following melody from Southern Peru was notated from a Victor phonograph record (No. 81929-A) made in the district. It records the playing of a native orchestra consisting of kenas, harps, and perhaps a violin. Only the melody is given here. It is clearly defined in the recording, and is a good example of the “hybrid” type.

⁸The kena-melodies quoted in this article are all given at the same pitch for the sake of convenience in notation. The sounds actually heard were anywhere from a major seventh to an octave and a half higher than the written notes, depending on the pitch of the instrument.

"Cusisiñana"

(Played by the Estudiantina Duncker)

No. 10.

(Southern Peru)

(Kena)



The seven-tone scale of these melodies has been attributed by the d'Harcourts⁹ to the influence of Spanish music. Just why the Quechua should have chosen the Dorian and Lydian modes from the musical idiom of his conquerors, to the exclusion of all the other characteristic elements of scale structure that Spanish folk-music offers, remains an enigma. Perhaps plainsong is the source of the influence—but, if so, why are only two of the Roman church modes in consistent use in the *sierra* today? The point can be decided only after much further investigation. Supposing the hypothesis of Spanish or plainsong influence to be correct, however, there yet remains an element of indigenous ethnic character in the predilections behind the æsthetic choice which led the Quechua to adopt only certain ingredients of these European idioms for incorporation into his own scheme—and those ingredients not by any means the outstanding ones. The "hybrid" melodies, whatever their origin, are a typically Andean product.

Note should be taken here of the custom, widespread in the *sierra* today, of performing melodies, especially those of the "hybrid" type, with recourse to a rude sort of polyphony. It is a very common practice for two kena-players to combine their efforts in a duo, in which one of them plays the melody, the other accom-

⁹R. et M. d'Harcourt, *La Musique des Incas*, Paris, 1925, pp. 141-153.

panying him in a sort of alto part pitched a third below the soprano. The effect of the resulting series of parallel thirds is reminiscent of the similar sequences of thirds and sixths common in Neapolitan, and other South-European folk-song, and the custom may easily be of European origin.

"Esta Vida todo se acaba"

No. 11.

(Huancayo)

(Two Kenas)



It is interesting to note the feeling for the tonic of the mode which leads the Quechua musician to discontinue his thirds at the cadences and to finish with a unison. There would be nothing particularly remarkable in this point, however, if it were not for the fact that in melodies of the major mode no such care is taken to preserve the modal integrity. In them the thirds are continued throughout, the cadence becoming minor. This peculiarity was checked over and over again by the present writer both in the tunes of the Montaro Valley and in the playing of musicians in the vicinity of Lima. The following duo, the upper part of which is a major pentatonic melody from Ayacucho will serve to illustrate the habit:

"Chichilay Parallay"

No. 12. Mulisa

(Ayacucho)

(Two Kenas)





Here the Quechua again demonstrates his preference for the minor mode. Not only are the great majority of his tunes cast in the second pentatonic mode, but the presence of two kena-players at a time often reduces the few major melodies he possesses to the same minor modality. The accompaniment of the "hybrid" melody quoted earlier from the Victor record shows the same peculiarities.

Before concluding, mention should be made of the more ambitious method of accompaniment affected by the musicians in the larger towns of the *sierra*. The method is unquestionably traceable to European sources, although as used by the Quechua it has a highly individual flavor. The accompanying instrument employed is the harp, a diminutive wooden copy of its European counterpart. Its lower end is supported on two wooden legs, the upper end resting in the lap of the performer. The strings lie in an almost horizontal position. The harpist commonly accompanies two kena-players who play, as usual, in thirds. His harmonic system comprises three or sometimes even four chords: the tonic triad of the major mode, the tonic triad of the minor mode, the dominant seventh-chord of the minor mode retaining the flat leading tone, and, if he is an extremely good harpist, the subdominant triad of the major mode. The combination of these harmonic elements with the perennial kena-duo results in a type of music that is indeed remarkable, if somewhat less authentically indigenous than the pure monodic pipings heard in the rural communities.

Here is a joyful little pentatonic *mulisa* popular in the vicinity of Huancayo. In its simplest form it is one of the rare pure-major melodies. With the assistance of a second kena-player and a harpist, however, it takes on an entirely new character. The harpist, in the performance the writer heard of the piece, was a musician of considerable local renown. The notation was made somewhat hurriedly and the strict accuracy of the positions of the chords in the harp part cannot be guaranteed. The sequence of harmonies was, however, quite clear, and the chords were, in each instance, complete "civilized" triads and seventh chords.

"Mulisa"

No. 13.

(Huancayo)

♩ = 200
8va

Kenaz

Harp

Fine

8va

D.C.

The continual shift back and forth between major and relative minor is characteristic of all harmonic accompaniments employed by the Quechua—and this holds true for even the most rudimentary accompaniments. (A similar accompaniment is to be found in the Victor record, the melody of which was quoted above.)

* * *

These notes on Quechua melody do not pretend to do more than call attention to a most interesting subject. There is a wealth of musical material in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, that it would require volumes to discuss. Notwithstanding the admirable work of Raoul and Marguerite d'Harcourt, of Daniel Alomía Robles, and of a large number of other South American investigators, thousands of Quechua songs and tunes have yet to be written down or otherwise recorded. Whole districts of the Andean *sierra* remain to be visited by persons of musical training. It may be that entirely new types of Quechua music will yet be brought to light.

Meanwhile the advance of industrial civilization, which has brought the phonograph and will soon bring the radio into the Andes, is slowly but relentlessly obliterating the art of the Quechua. Already the Indian musicians in the larger towns are emulating the jazz-bands of the *gringo*, and with remarkable adaptability are fitting their own musical idiom to the new requirements. It is to be hoped that some effort towards the preservation of this indigenous American art-music can be made before it becomes a thing of the past.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

A don from Bordeaux (who has explored and learnedly expounded "the inner life of Robert Schumann") and a doctor (presumably psychiatrist) have furnished the two headlights for the vehicle in which Pierre Bugard has resolutely traversed the dim regions of "music and symbolic thought."¹ The author has a firm grip on the reins—or is it the wheel? His turnout is no antique barouche. He goes at a modern clip and in less than two hundred pages covers a lot of ground. Occasionally he chooses a road where none would appear to run; the map looks as though it had preceded the survey. But you trust the driver willingly, if not blindly; he woos your confidence, if he does not always win it. And he has a way, now and then, of making the journey almost exciting. His goal is none other than the dark center of all living thought, buried deep in the subconscious, whence rises the surging flow of instincts and inhibitions, well-spring of creative urge and stagnant morass of frustration.

Although Doctor Bugard starts out with the statement that "this sketch is a contribution to the study of symbolic thought, which manifests itself so often in normal as well as pathological reality," his chief concern is with creative thinking. "Our psychological conception envisages an unconscious [*inconscient*], the activity of which is revealed, by modern theories, in daily life and in artistic creation." Not that we should have imagined them in close propinquity. Attacking the psychological problem and the musical one, Doctor Bugard declares that the two merge and are confounded into one: that of Invention. Here we have the kernel of the matter. It is not, however, some solitary *Urzelle*—mysterious and despotic microcosm, source of all growth, foreordained or prognosticable; it is a tangled web and a circling seine, a complex, in the literal sense and in the psychological. We uncover the kernel by first peeling, then dissecting the fruit, with all the tools of "modern theories." The kernel's substance is the stuff that Freudian dreams are made of.

All mental activity, according to Doctor Bugard, may be summarized under two heads: the activity in a state of dreaming, or the affective and emotional, and the activity in a state of waking, or the logical and reasoned. Musical reverie, on the one hand, and ordered musical construction, on the other, form the synthesis of the two. The different elements of which music consists—

¹Pierre Bugard, "Musique et Pensée Symbolique, préfaces de M. Robert Pitrou et de M. le Dr. A. Hesnard" (Bordeaux, Librairie Delmas, 1933).

such as melody, rhythm, harmony, and the rest—may be viewed from both angles, the affective and the logical: either as conforming to such a simple affective criterion as the principle of “pleasure-pain” (to which corresponds the fundamental principle of “consonance-dissonance”), or as following severely logical norms (laid down in formal patterns of musical composition). This double nature reflects but the two inseparable aspects of our psychic life. It reveals, on one side, an eminently rational and constructive thought, and, on the other, the affective tendencies that precede it.

The language of music is fashioned with the aid of “images” borrowed from the exterior world; they are gathered mainly during childhood. In the broadest sense, it is a motor reaction to a nervous or psychic stimulus which has its origin in a sensorial perception. The perceptions may be visual, aural, tactile, or even olfactory (see Debussy’s *Les sons et les parfums tournent dans l’air du soir*). At the root of musical creation lie the stored perceptions that begin to accumulate with infancy, slumbering in the subconscious, floating upward as affects into the sphere of dreams, ultimately emerging in a state of waking, to be caught and moulded by the grasp and cunning of the conscious and discerning artist.

The artist is no more able than any other mortal to escape his psychic constitution. What M. Bugard calls “les conflits profonds essentiellement humains”—that he places at the basis of all musical creation—are the conflicts between subconscious desire and conscious control. The balance between the two largely determines the nature of the art work.

To the musician, above all other artists, in Doctor Bugard’s opinion, it is given to reveal the exact measure of this balance, or the lack of it. And here is a passage that is best given in literal translation. It deserves to be quoted and pondered.

The practice of harmony and of musical composition, moreover, seems to widen the field of consciousness: it is herein, too, that one is inclined to consider Music as an art of the Unconscious. The musical language reconstitutes the inner language [*langage intérieur*] of the Musician; this inner language is an essentially human function of taking contact with psychic facts, in themselves inapprehensible. Indeed, musical culture becomes an enrichment of this inner language: the musician is better able than anyone else to gaze into his psyche [*psychisme*]. He learns, not to know, for knowledge implies consciousness, but to glimpse [*entrevoir*], in the manner of pre-intuition, a certain number of phenomena that underlie his conscious psychic activity. Since the actual [*extérieur*] musical language is most closely related to this intuition, it becomes easily apparent how important, for psychology in general, is the study of a musical composition, reflecting the musician’s soul and making it a little easier to look into it.

With this conception of the Unconscious we approach Freud and his *Traumdeutung*—not necessarily pan-sexual. We are inevitably led to seek for the relationship between the symbolism of musical speech and the symbolism of neurosis. The case-books of psychiatry contain no story to equal that of the musico-neurotic archetype: spinner of fantastic tales, listener to strange dream-voices, exultant and morbid singer of incomparable melodies, victim of his obsessions and delusions—one Robert Schumann. And Doctor Bugard, in the lengthy introduction to his book, recounts that story with keen clinical insight. It serves as paradigm for the declension of all that comes under the heads of music and neurosis. It also serves to expose and explain, so far as it is possible, the intricate and subtle bonds that link the unconscious conception with the conscious realization of a musical artwork. Hence the author reverts to the "case," throughout his thesis, wherever he finds it helpful in making his point. And Schumann's melancholy shade accompanies us to the last page of the book.

All that this book presents can hardly be developed in a brief and necessarily superficial account. Suffice it to retrace, broadly and crudely, the general direction in which the author's course advances.

In his opening chapter, Doctor Bugard considers the Unconscious and the Conscious in their relations to the musical problem; the symbolic elements of melody, rhythm, harmony, consonance and dissonance; the principles of pleasure and reality. The passage quoted above belongs to this chapter. It expresses some views—as do, by the way, the other chapters—on certain musical questions that the musician accepts with reservations. Thus the endeavor to systematize parallel or correlated concepts in a neat and poised arrangement, prompts the author to make the somewhat summary statement that

Les accords consonants donnent une impression agréable de plénitude et d'achèvement. Les accords dissonants sont teintés d'une mélancolie qui peut aller jusqu'à la souffrance véritable si la dissonance est totale. Ainsi la musique symphonique apparaît comme un conflit psychique se résolvant en une victoire finale qui fait naître la joie. La cadence parfaite terminale et le retour à la tonique achèvent la lutte.²

²"Consonant chords give a pleasing impression of fullness and completeness. Dissonant chords are tinged with a melancholy that can reach the stage of genuine pain if the dissonance be total. Thus symphonic music is like a psychological conflict resolving in a final victory that gives birth to rejoicing. The concluding perfect cadence and the tonic bring the struggle to an end."

This might have been written (and believed) by Professor Karl Reinecke, in 1870. But even in 1770, Doctor Charles Burney saw farther, although he, too, conceded that there are practically no limits to the degree of dissonances we can stand only "provided the ear be at length made amends."

This theory of "Souffrance-Jouissance," of pain and pleasure, must needs be revised in the light of what music has produced within the last twenty-five years. Doctor Bugard does not attempt to explain what psychological causes or concomitants effected or accompanied the changes that music has undergone. These changes, most certainly, are not arbitrary. They must correspond to a change in psychological ends or sensorial means. And what the psychologists, who lay such stress upon impressions and reactions during childhood, quite fail to answer to our satisfaction, is the peculiar circumstance that the child's conception of musical joys and musical sufferings are not at all those of the adult. We are reminded of a concrete example and may be pardoned for citing it.

We know a young person, aged eleven, musically untutored but by no means unmusical. She learned in school to sing "Adeste fideles." She retained the tune. When given the opportunity to engage in single combat with a grand piano, she accurately played the notes of the melody; but she invested it with an harmonic accompaniment wholly her own. It was fierce and barbaric. It suggested Mongol hordes driving like storm clouds out of Asia, overrunning and devastating the land for the sheer joy of it. There was no longer the meekly cheerful tune of the church; it had become a reckless pæan of untrammelled force and vitality. It would have made Stravinsky *sacrer* with envy. But, we admit, it was difficult for us to bear. We exercised self-control as long as we could. At length, gently and persuasively, we tried to show the aforementioned young person how, according to accepted canons, the tune might properly be harmonized. We instantly recognized our own defeat. What we produced was correct and lamentable. We earned not a word of gratitude, but a look of pity. Obediently and unsuccessfully, the young person tried to follow our benighted example. The result was distressing; we assisted at the death of an illusion; nay, we had helped to murder it. We have bitterly regretted, ever since, that we interfered with a child's ideas of consonance and dissonance, and we regret even more that we have no record of what, in retrospect, was the spontaneous and unspoiled expression of a "symbolic thought" in a musical language that—though foreign to us—was probably more natural and

nearer the spirit of its melodic content than was our hackneyed harmonic vocabulary. And the crime goes by the name of "teaching music."

An explanation for the child's harmonic predilections is not furnished by Doctor Bugard. Nor have we found it anywhere else. We frankly distrust the assertion that "notre critère musical de valeur affective" is "le principe Consonance-Dissonance." It is difficult to accept as criterion, or standard in judging, something that is not a constant, and not always even a fixed or stable degree in contrast.

When we come to Doctor Bugard's second chapter, in which he treats of "music and the profound conflicts" of the human soul, we encounter much that impresses us as sound and convincing. As underlying the act of musical creation, the author passes in review the elements of love and triumph (Darwin), the libido (Freud), and the will to dominate (Adler). He ends with a shrewd appraisal of the influences of "sublimation," and gives the usual guess what music must have been like in "primitive society." But here again we feel constrained to take some slight exception.

In connection with the sex-complex, M. Bugard distinguishes between a Parsifal-type and Faust-type, and claims that they are represented by Wagner and Schumann respectively. He paints a vivid clinical picture of the *dramatis personæ* in Wagner's "Parsifal," as being afflicted with an astonishing variety of neuroses. That Wagner himself should have completely identified himself with the heroic person of Parsifal, and that Parsifal, in turn, should stand for "la sexualité totalement sublimée," is the sort of sleight-of-hand in which "modern theories" are no less adept than were the ancient. The characterization of "Parsifal le chaste" as "un impuissant psychique, incapable d'éprouver une émotion amoureuse normale, même à son stade psychique," hardly applies to what idea we had been led to form of Wagner's verdant maturity. That Klingsor should be tagged with the "castration-complex" and Kundry should arouse the "mother-complex," merely rounds out the symptoms of this lively little psychopathic group.

With his third chapter, which treats of "musical symbolism," the author sets foot on his most particular province. To the layman, not wholly unfamiliar with psychological concepts and doctrines, Doctor Bugard's expositions seem plausible enough. Though the introduction of some of the musico-philosophical speculations of that great master, Vincent d'Indy, strikes us as beclouding rather than clarifying the issue. And the issue is as complicated as it is delicate. If "the special interest of the Schu-

mann case lies in the progressive transformation of his musical language into a delirious and vesanik speech," one wonders what lesions or forms of dementia are responsible for the progressive transformation of musical language in general. Perhaps it is true that all of civilized mankind is gradually succumbing to an endemic hysteria. That would account for much.

"Musique et Rêve" is the title of Chapter IV. Here M. Bugard tries to accomplish for the musician what Mr. Frederick Clarke Prescott, of Cornell University, has so successfully done for the poet in his book on "The Poetic Mind."³ We recommend it to Doctor Bugard. With the Frenchman's statement that

la création musicale utilise en somme des images de rêve, mais tend à les grouper en un processus dont toutes les phases soient étroitement liées par une solidarité continuelle: cette évolution est celle de la Pensée.⁴

we can juxtapose the American's

The poetic vision presents images corresponding to reality, but also to the demands of the mind—that is to the poet's wishes, desires, or aspirations. This is parallel to the principle that dreams are the imaginary fulfillment of the dreamer's ungratified wishes. . . . The poet subjects the shows of things to the desires of the mind.

We believe that Doctor Bugard would subscribe to Professor Prescott's assertion that "The hysterical imagination is a kind of insane poetical one. The hysteric indeed is what the poet often becomes when he goes insane." Professor Prescott's chapter on "Symbols and Figures" should be read in conjunction with Doctor Bugard's chapter on "Le Symbolisme Musical."

The fifth and last chapter of Doctor Bugard's book is devoted to "La Suggestion Musicale." The most susceptible to suggestion is the hysteric. Wagner's music, in the author's belief (and, we take it, only from "Tristan" and the Paris "Venusberg" on), addresses itself to that neurotic strain of which each of us has a larger or smaller portion. Möbius said: "Every one of us is, if ever so little, hysterical." Music and Magic, of old, have been sisters. The supernatural and the subconscious are allied. Out of the mass of talk about complexes—none of them such as one would gladly own—, neuroses and kindred ills, there looms the consoling thought that "la suggestion musicale n'est pas une suggestion

³Published by The Macmillan Co. of New York, 1922. We are indebted to our friend, Professor William A. Hammond, Consultant in Philosophy in the Library of Congress, for having called this admirable book to our attention.

⁴"To sum up: musical creation employs dream-images, but tends to group them within a development, all of whose phases are closely linked by a continuous interdependence: the evolution is that of Thought."

hypnotique; elle s'adresse non pas à des névrosés qui sont plus suggestifs que les autres, mais à des individus normaux."

What constitutes a normal individual we shall not attempt to say. But in whatever measure a man may fall below the norm, or rise above it, there is music to meet him at each and every level: music to move, sustain, comfort, elevate, or thrill. Science tries to tell us by what methods the musician arrives at his ends, by what devious processes he achieves a masterwork. It bids us behold a dream, and shows us a nightmare. Our peace of mind may well be shaken when we are made to look into the dark recesses of the artist's soul and find that they are inhabited by hidden woe, that they are marred by secret taint. The wonder remains the greater that out of it all should come so much that is pure and rich, so much to which no other symbol will apply but that of beauty. Or is it really corrupted beauty?

"La Musique, dans sa forme la plus noble, est encore entachée de tendances affectives brutales et profondes."⁵ Thus writes Doctor Bugard in his concluding paragraphs. A dismal note to close on. Is it our lack of scientific training, or just our inveterate contrariness, that makes us lift our eye incredulously from the page and search our memory for all the music that refutes the author?

To regard the subliminal regions as the very inferno has become the fashion with most of our psychologists. Dante, far-travelled in the hells of man, envisioned and phrased—though, compared to what he saw, his words were "less than little"—a more consoling picture in the end:

As one, who from a dream awaken'd, straight,
All he hath seen forgets; yet still retains
Impression of the feeling in his dream;
E'en such am I: for all the vision dies,
As 'twere, away; and yet the sense of sweet,
That sprang from it, still trickles in my heart.

Dante, indeed, was only a poet. And as Mr. Archibald MacLeish, in one of his loveliest poems, has happily put it,

A poem should not mean
But be

C.E.

* * *

⁵"Music [even] in its most noble form, is still tainted by affective tendencies at the same time brutal and deep-seated."

We call to the attention of our readers the following books that have recently appeared:

Edwin Evans (Senior), "Handbook to the Chamber and Orchestral Music of Johannes Brahms" [New ed.] (London; William Reeves), because of its minute and thorough analysis, supported by ample musical illustrations.

Sir Henry Hadow, "The Place of Music among the Arts," The Romanes lecture delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre, 31 May 1933 (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1933), because, although it does not quite hold what its title promises, it is a clear presentment and an admirable piece of writing.

John Tasker Howard, "Stephen Foster, America's Troubadour" (New York; Th. Y. Crowell Co., 1934), because it is the first earnest attempt at an adequate biography of Foster, with a proper background of the times and conditions he lived in.

Florence Hier, "La Musique dans l'œuvre de Marcel Proust" (New York; Institute of French Studies, Inc., Columbia University, 1933), not only because it is a remarkable performance for an American woman, but because it delves with sympathy and penetration into the vast work of Proust, of whom Dr. Bugard wrote "Si Marcel Proust avait été musicien, quelle vérité et quelle richesse eut possédé son style musical!"

Clara Leiser, "Jean de Reszke and the great days of opera" (New York; Minton, Balch & Co., 1934), because of the agreeable style in which a truly romantic life is recounted, based on carefully gathered facts.

E. Krishna Iyer, "Personalities in present day music" (Madras; Rochouse & Sons, 1933), because this little book of 100 pages is the first glimpse afforded to western eyes of the leading musicians of India, in sketches drawn with much frankness and simplicity.

"Mélanges de musicologie offerts à M. Lionel de La Laurencie" (Paris; Droz, 1933), because of the great number and variety of excellent studies it contains, contributed by the leading musicologists of Europe in honor of their eminent French confrère, who has recently died.



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A short history of ballet. 40 p, 8°.
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(The University of New Mexico Bulletin. Modern language series. Vol. 4,
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Albuquerque, N. M.: The University,
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book for teachers, students and parents.
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8°. Jena: W. Biedermann, 1933.
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W. DYKEMA**
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music by Archibald Jacobs. xxxii, 559
p, 8°. London: Oxford University Press,
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Handbook to the chamber and orches-
tral music of Johannes Brahms. First
series, to Op. 67 inclusive. [New ed.]
viii, 304 p, 8°. London: W. Reeves.
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vertically and horizontally. 13 p, 16°.
Brooklyn, N. Y.: Chandler-Ebel Music
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publishing in the United States; an
historical sketch with special reference
to the pioneer publisher, Oliver Ditson
Company, Inc., 1783-1933. [New ed.]
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